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THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

DIED

On the 18th December, 1921,

WALTER MORRISON.

OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

It is with profound regret that we have to record the death, at the ripe age of 85, of Mr. Walter Morrison, for many years Hon. Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund, of which he was one of the founders. As the news arrived as the *Quarterly Statement* was going to press, we are obliged to postpone until the next issue a fuller account of the Society's faithful friend and benefactor whose loss the Committee have to deplore.

The work which has been carried on at Askalon during the past year by Prof. Garstang has now for a time been suspended. We regret to say that Prof. Garstang himself has been ill on his journey home, and, in consequence, the full reports of what has been done have not yet reached us. We understand that he has a very interesting and detailed account of "Herod's Cloisters,"

a building of great architectural importance which he has excavated and planned. Askalon has proved a vast site, requiring for its thorough investigation far greater funds than the Committee have had at their disposal. It is therefore proposed in the new year to undertake, in co-operation with the Director of the British School of Archaeology and his Staff, a series of minor excavations upon a number of ancient tells in the Philistine country, near Askalon and Gaza. It is hoped that this kind of work may yield results of great importance to Biblical knowledge by throwing further light upon the vexed question of the Philistines, while proving less expensive than the more exhaustive work done within the walls of Askalon itself. The Committee, in addition to a small balance from last year, have recently had a grant of £100 made to them by the Trustees of the Schweich Fund, but they hope the public may realise how great is the present opportunity and come forward generously to their assistance.

In the *Zionist* "*Menorah Journal*" Prof. James A. Montgomery, of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, writes on "Jerusalem as an educational centre." He observes that "quietly, but effectively, the scholarship of many nations and groups is taking possession of the land so promising to archaeological study. As never before in its long history Jerusalem bids fair to become one of the important educational centres of the world." A rejuvenation of the Holy Land is to be reasonably expected, similar to that of Greece in the last century, and already "Palestine is becoming a Mecca of the scholarship that is devoted to Biblical and Oriental studies." The Palestine Oriental Society, numbering 150 local members, includes some of the best known names in Biblical scholarship. The library facilities are now excellent, and there are several important collections, notably those of the Convents of the Dormitio, of the Assumptionists and the White Fathers. "It should be remembered that Palestine—Syria is a field not only for the Biblical student but also for the connoisseur of later periods. In Palestine are some of the oldest Christian churches in the world, while the lands across the Jordan and in the northern parts of Syria, possess some of the most important remains in the world of early Christian architecture in good preservation. Similarly the Jews are interested in the discovery of the remains of ancient synagogues in Galilee. To a peculiar extent also all the branches

of the Oriental, Greek and Latin communions are represented in Jerusalem, so that it is a field for the study of ecclesiastical conditions. These opportunities for study of the Biblical country and all the related branches of knowledge should be known by those interested in those subjects, both preceptors and students. The latter should make it part of their ambition to visit Palestine, which is now so accessible, even as the classical student goes to Greece or Italy. Also the laymen who possess a profound, if not a technical, interest in research can be assured that they will find the agencies in that country placing themselves generously at their disposal."

Palestine (December 3rd) reports that on October 31st the High Commissioner officially inaugurated the opening of the National Museum of Palestine, which is housed in the Citadel of David in Jerusalem. "One hundred cases containing antiquities which the Turks had prepared for despatch to Constantinople, and which had been left behind, have been taken over by the Museum. In addition, Miss Newton, of Haifa, has presented the Museum with a collection of gold jewels, and Mr. Raphaeli, Numismatist at the British School of Archaeology, has loaned to the Museum his valuable collection of coins. Two special departments—a Jewish and an Arab—have been created. Each department will be under the supervision of an advisory committee appointed by the communities concerned. With regard to the antiquities discovered by the excavations of the Jewish Archaeological Society, it was decided that those which were of interest would be kept in the Jewish department of the Museum, and those which were of Jewish interest only would be kept in a local Jewish museum, according to the decision of the interested Jewish institutions. Jewish antiquities discovered by other societies will be kept in the Jewish department of the Museum. Dr. Nahum Slousch has been nominated the Conservator of the Jewish section of the Palestine Museum of Antiquities."

"The High Commissioner of the French Republic in Syria, in accordance with the advice of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, has commissioned M. Maurice Pézard to conduct excavations at Tell Nebi Mindan, the site of the Hittite Kadesh; M. Camille Enlart to study the mediaeval monuments of Tarsus; M. G. Contenau to continue excavations at Sidon, and M. de Lorey to direct excavations at Tyre" (*Syria*, II, 1921, p. 80).

Subscribers will recollect that the map of the Negeb or Wilderness of Zin, which should have accompanied the 1914–15 Annual, had then to be withheld from publication owing to the War. The Committee are glad to announce that the map has now been prepared for the Fund by the War Office, and a copy will be supplied gratis to those Members desirous of procuring it to complete their record of the 1914 Survey. Applications should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary.

Photo-relief map of Palestine: This popular little map, which is reproduced by collotype process from the well-known raised maps, has been reprinted and is now on sale. It measures (with margin) 29 × 19 inches and contains some hundreds of Biblical names. The price to subscribers is 2*s.* 6*d.*, and to non-subscribers 3*s.*; postage 6*d.* extra.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, pp. 5 *sqq.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers are reminded that subscriptions are due this month. Prompt remittance is earnestly requested to save the expense of postal reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1920 was published in the Annual Report, issued with the April number.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 4, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Elihu Grant, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Haverford College, Pa.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Parts III–IV, Oct.: The First Appearance of the Negroes in History, Dr. H. Junker; Early Chronology of Sumer and Egypt and the Similarities of their Culture, by Prof. Langdon ; Excavations at El-Amarna, by Prof. Peet ; Notes on the Battle of Kadesh, by Major Burne ; Cylinder Seal with Hieroglyphic and Cuneiform Inscription, by Dr. Pinches and Mr. Percy Newberry ; The Egyptian Temple at Byblos, by C. L. Woolley.

The Near East, Oct. 20 : The Palestine Problem.

The Expository Times, Nov. : Thirty Years of Palestine Exploration, by Prof. R. A. S. Macalister ; Thirty Years in Egyptology, by Prof. Flinders Petrie.

The Irish Theological Quarterly, Oct.

Preliminary Report of the British Museum Excavations in Babylonia, 1919, by H. R. Hall, D.Litt., F.S.A., Deputy-Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum. (Extract from the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.)

Bible Lands, Oct. : Dietary and Allied Laws of the Jews, by Dr. Masterman.

Zionist Review, Dec. : Palestine Letter.

Palestine : The Organ of the British Palestine Committee.

Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Syria : The Ledjā, by E. Littmann and D. Magie, jr. (Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria.)

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Oct.: The Antiquity of Babylonian Civilization, by Prof. A. T. Clay.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, IV, Sept.

Report of the Director of the School in Jerusalem, 1920–21. Jerusalem as an Educational Centre, by Prof. J. A. Montgomery. (Reprint from *The Menorah Journal*, June.)

Art and Archaeology, July: The American Excavations at Assos, by H. C. Butler; The Semitic (?) Sarcophagus at Cadiz, by B. H. Carroll.

Jewish Quarterly Review, Oct.: The Book of Esther in the Light of History, by Dr. J. Hoschander; Recent Biblical Literature, by Dr. J. Reider.

American Journal of Archaeology, July–Sept.

American Journal of Philology, Oct.–Dec.: The Judas Curse, by A. Taylor.

The Homiletic Review.

Journal Asiatique, April-June: Mélanges Épigraphiques, by M. J.-B. Chabot; Les Sémites en Cappadoce au XXIII^{e} siècle, by Dr. Contenau; July–Sept.: *Alphabets magiques arabes*, by M. Casanova; *Fragments de papyrus araméens provenant de Memphis*, by M. Noël Giron.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 1920: Excavations at Argos, Ptoïon, Delos; Articles on Byzantine Archaeology; Chronicle of Excavations and Archaeological Discoveries in the Greek Orient, Nov., 1919–Nov., 1920.

Revue Biblique, Oct.: *La Synagogue de Noarah*, by R. P. L. H. Vincent; see also pp. 7 *sqq.*

Biblica, Vol. II, Part IV: The Period of Ezra's Activities, by A. Fernández; Detailed Review, by E. Power, of B. Meistermann's *Gethsémane;* Bibliographical Lists (15 pages); Excavations at Askalon and Galilee, by A. Mallon.

Orte und Wege Jesu, by Gustaf Dalman. With 40 illustrations. 2nd ed., Gütersloh, 1921.

Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, Nos. 2–3: A Revision of Early Hebrew Chronology, by Prof. W. F. Albright; Hebrew Music, with Special Reference to the Musical Intonations in the Recital of the Pentateuch, by A. Z. Idelson; Observation on a Megalithic Building at Bet Sawir, by E. J. H. Mackay; The Edomite Language, by E. ben Yehudah; Solomon and the Shulamite, by C. C. McCown; Notes of Locality in the Psalter, by John P. Peters; la Maison d'Abraham à Hébron, by F.-M. Abel, O.P.; A Recently Discovered Samaritan Charm, by Samuel Raffaeli.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ, Sept. : Lord Bryce's Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

The Palestine Weekly, Nov. 18, Beersheba ; Nov. 25, Hebron.

Al-Mashrik, Nov. : Antiquités trouvées à Ma'rab, by P. René Mouterde, S.J. ; Dec. : *La légende de la vertueuse Aphiqia et du Roi Salomon*, by P. L. Cheikho, S.J.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books :—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

Prof. Flinders Petrie's *Tell el-Hesy* (*Lachish*).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. I, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund ; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE CITY OF DAVID AND THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1913–1914.

By Gerald M. FitzGerald, M.A.

The results of the excavations carried out at Jerusalem under the direction of M. Raymond Weill from November, 1913, to March, 1914, were described by him in a series of articles contributed to the *Revue des Études Juives*.[1] These articles have now been published as they stand in book form,[2] without alteration, even in the numbering of the pages, which is therefore not consecutive throughout the volume. The large-scale plans and plates are published separately as an *annexe* to the *Revue des Études Juives*, LXX (1920). Two articles by Father Vincent in the *Revue Biblique*,[3] illustrated by plans and photographs, contribute materially to a due appreciation of the important results obtained in the few months during which the excavations were carried on.

It was by a cruel stroke of fate that the excavations, which had been contemplated since 1907 and which the generosity of Baron Edmond de Rothschild had made possible, were limited to a single campaign. The work was to have been resumed in the autumn of 1914, but the outbreak of war intervened, and for the present we must rest content with the very considerable additions which M. Weill makes to our knowledge of the ancient history of Jerusalem. One interesting discovery, the Greek inscription of Theodotus, has been already discussed in the *Quarterly Statement* (January, 1921, p. 22, October, p. 175); the present article aims at giving a general summary of the results obtained by M. Weill.

The area now excavated forms part of what modern opinion holds to be the site of the stronghold of Zion which David took and which he called the City of David (2 Sam. v, 7, 9). This Jebusite stronghold appears to have been the acropolis of ancient Jerusalem. It lay upon a relatively low ridge running southward from Mount Ophel, the hill to the northward on which the Temple

[1] *R E.J.*, LXIX, pp. 1–85; LXX, pp. 1–36, 149–179; LXXI, pp. 1–45.
[2] *La Cité de David*, Paris, Geuthner, 1920.
[3] *R.B.*, 1921, pp. 410–433 and 541–569.

was afterwards built. The Kidron valley lies to the east of it and the Tyropoeon valley to the west; the southern end of the ridge runs like a wedge into the confluence of the two valleys, just above the point at which a third valley (W. er-Rababi) joins them from the west. The modern city of Jerusalem lies to the north and west, but a few modern buildings and walls stand on the débris which covers the ridge. The name Ophel is often extended to apply to this area, but M. Weill prefers to call it by the modern name Ed-Dahoura. Upon its eastern side and at its southern extremity it slopes sharply into the valley, so that even before the débris was cleared away the line of the crest could be followed. On the west side, where the débris has raised the level of the Tyropoeon valley, the crest-line becomes less distinguishable as we go northward up the valley, and there is little in the configuration of the soil to indicate the northern boundary of the Jebusite stronghold. This portion of the site had, however, been previously explored by Guthe in 1881 and by Parker in 1909–1911. M. Weill concludes from their observations that the northern wall originally ran across the saddle which lay between Ed-Dahoura and Mount Ophel, in a line roughly westward from the Virgin's Spring (Gihon),[1] that is to say, about 300 metres from the southern point of the ridge. According to his view, the Millo, which Solomon built (1 Kings ix, 15, 24; xi, 27), was a narrow embankment or causeway, connecting the City of David with Ophel, and made of earth supported by side-walls, the effect of which would be to join two separate systems of fortification into one.[2]

The Virgin's Spring, to which allusion has just been made, was doubtless the determining factor in the choice of a site for the Jebusite stronghold. The successive stages by which its waters were made available for the defenders of Jerusalem in case of siege, forms an interesting chapter in the history of the place, and M. Weill, as we shall see, has been able to throw very serviceable light upon the subject.

Under the ridge runs the rock-cut tunnel, generally attributed to the reign of Hezekiah, which carried the waters of Gihon to the upper reservoir of Siloam, which is situated immediately to the west of the southern extremity of the ridge. This aqueduct, as has long been well known, does not run in a straight line between

[1] *Cité de David*, Part I, cap. I, § ii.
[2] *Ibid.*, § iv.

these two points; in particular, it makes a wide loop to the south-east in a manner which suggests the intention of avoiding an obstacle. M. Clermont-Ganneau had long ago suggested that the object of this loop in the aqueduct might have been to avoid the tombs of David and of his successors, twelve in number, of whom we read in Kings and Chronicles that they were buried in the City of David.

M. Weill devotes the first portion of his work[1] to a sketch of the topography, archaeology and history of the site. He includes in this an account[2] of the work of the excavators who have contributed to our knowledge of the City of David—Warren, Guthe, Bliss and Dickie, Clermont-Ganneau, Schick, Parker and others, and concludes with a summary of the results that had been obtained before he set to work in 1913. These may be shortly stated as follows :—

I. With regard to the *water-supply* M. Weill distinguishes four stages: (*a*) That of the primitive period when a trench was dug in the cave, under the acropolis, in which the Virgin's Spring (Gihon) rises, so as to ensure a constant supply of water at the spring; (*b*) that of the Jebusite fortress, when it became desirable to obtain access to the spring from the interior of the place by means of a sloping tunnel leading to a vertical shaft or well, at the bottom of which was a chamber connected, by means of a rock-cut gallery some 20 metres long, with the cave in which the spring rises. At the same time a wall was built across the mouth of the cave, high enough to ensure the water of the spring running back into the chamber under the well, thus enabling the inhabitants to draw water without exposing themselves to an enemy. Either then or later[3] provision was made for irrigating the Kidron valley by means of an aqueduct having its point of departure within the cave, and running under a second wall, built inside the first and provided

[1] *Cité de David*, Part I; *R.E.J.*, LXIX, pp. 1–85.

[2] *Ibid.*, cap. IV, § 1, p. 69 *sqq*.

[3] Father Vincent (*R.B.*, 1921, July, p. 425) criticises certain expressions of M. Weill which appear to him to maintain the view that the further development (*canal I*) was earlier than, or contemporary with, this rock-gallery and well. Father Vincent regards it as a distinct stage in the adaptation of the water-supply (*ibid.*, p. 424). It may not be out of place to mention that M. Weill views with favour the suggestion made by Father Vincent in his *Jérusalem Antique* (pp. 146–160) that this arrangement of gallery and well was the *sinnor* of II Sam. v, 8, and that through it Joab went up and took the fortress by surprise.

with a sluice. This aqueduct was made to skirt the outer wall and appears to have followed the rocky side of the ridge down along the valley. It had been traced for a distance of 54 metres in 1901,[1] and is the *canal I* of Father Vincent's and M. Weill's nomenclature. (*c*) The next stage is attributed to the ancient Jewish period (perhaps ninth century) and consists in diverting the water by another aqueduct, called *canal II*, to a reservoir under the southern extremity of the ridge, the Birket el-Ḥamra. This reservoir was formed by building a wall across the mouth of the Tyropoeon valley, cutting it off from the Kidron valley and holding up the water so as to form a pool in the lowest portion of the Tyropoeon. This aqueduct, *canal II*, skirts the eastern slope of Ed-Dahoura, running sometimes in an open channel cut in the rock, sometimes through natural caves or through sections artificially tunnelled. It is remarkable for having a series of openings or windows on the outer side, giving on to the Kidron valley at intervals of about 12 metres. These openings are about 50 or 60 centimetres above the bed of the aqueduct, and were perhaps intended to permit the surplus water to escape and to irrigate the valley.

Towards the southern end of the ridge *canal II* runs through a tunnel into the reservoir. Like *canal I*, it has its origin in the cave of the Virgin's Spring, but at a point nearer the spring than the sluice under which passes *canal I*, and at a height of 4 metres above the level of the spring. When the sluice was closed, therefore, the water filled the chamber under the old well (together with a miniature labyrinth of chambers and galleries which were at some period cut in the rock) before escaping by *canal II*. This aqueduct had been discovered by Schick in 1886 at a point 250 metres south of the spring, and in 1890 he explored it for 70 metres towards its source. He clearly distinguished it as belonging to a more ancient system than Hezekiah's tunnel; but when, in 1901, he was exploring the source of *canal I* he not unnaturally fell into the error of identifying it with the aqueduct of which he had previously discovered a section, i.e., *canal II*. In spite of the difference of levels this mistake was not corrected by Father Vincent in his *Jérusalem sous Terre*, 1911, and to M. Weill belongs the merit of putting matters on their proper footing.[2]

[1] *Q.S.*, 1902, p. 29 (Schick), p. 35 (Masterman).

[2] *R.B.*, 1921, July, p. 423. For Schick's Excavations, see *Q.S.*, 1886, p. 197; 1890, pp. 257-8; 1891, pp. 13-18; 1902, pp. 29-35 and 35-38.

(*d*) The final stage is that of the tunnel aqueduct of Hezekiah, which winds under the Ed-Dahoura ridge in the manner already described, from a point close to the ancient well at the Virgin's Spring to the pool of Siloam, a reservoir constructed in the Tyropoeon valley above the Birket el-Ḥamra, just west of the southern point of the ridge. Starting at a lower level than *canal II* it diverted the water of the spring from it; at the same time the water chamber under the well and other galleries round about the spring were walled up, and it is possible that *canal I* was also rendered useless, and that all the water of the spring flowed through the tunnel to Siloam.[1]

II. *The line of walls.*—The wall of the Jebusite acropolis, as M. Weill points out, had before 1913 been regarded by excavators only in so far as it formed part of the larger *enceinte* of the later city; neither at the southern extremity of the ridge, nor on the side overlooking the Tyropoeon had it attracted attention. Guthe and Parker had at various points reached the wall on the east side, and it was apparent that the crest of the ridge overlooking Kidron had been fortified. The excavations of Bliss and Dickie[2] had thrown light on the Jewish work in the valley to the south of Ed-Dahoura, where a strong fortification wall ran to the east of, and almost parallel with, the wall which blocked the Birket el-Ḥamra (or "Old Pool") across the mouth of the Tyropoeon valley.[3] They also demonstrated that opposite the southern end of the Ed-Dahoura the line of this wall was carried back at right angles towards the face of the ridge in such a way as to afford a means of access to the foot of the ridge, where, however, it was blocked by a cross-wall. M. Weill's discoveries, as we shall see, lend these dispositions a significance which the discoverers could not anticipate. Apart from the results of earlier excavation, M. Weill was able to trace vestiges of the acropolis wall here and there along a path which follows the crest of the ridge and at one or two points on the side overlooking the Tyropoeon, but till he began to dig, the dispositions of the fortifications were practically unknown.

[1] M. Weill's account of the water-supply is contained in Part I, cap. III, of *La Cité de David* = *R.E.J.*, LXIX, pp. 42–54, with sketch plan of the rock cuttings at the Virgin's Spring at p. 47.

[2] Bliss and Dickie *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 1894–1897, p. 103.

[3] This fortification wall appears to have formed the original dam at the lower end of the Old Pool, the inner wall being a later development.

III. The same may be said of the area included in the wall, the acropolis itself. Bliss[1] had excavated a small portion of it, with the hope of finding the Tomb of David. Unfortunately, he hardly attacked that part of the area which lies within the great bend of Hezekiah's tunnel, and in which, according to M. Clermont-Ganneau's theory, the royal tombs should be looked for, so nothing could be argued from his failure to discover anything but cisterns and rock-chambers.

The Second Part of M. Weill's book deals with the course and results of his six months' excavation. The ground which was available for this purpose was an irregular area extending 265 metres northward from the southern end of the ridge, and measuring 68 metres at its greatest width. Except towards the south it lay mainly on the east side of the ridge, which falls in terraces to the Kidron valley, with a drop of about 30 metres in 60. Several pieces of land, which it was not possible to acquire, encroached on the area of excavation, sometimes with unfortunate results. We need not dwell on the record which M. Weill sets out of the course and method of his excavations; the results are grouped by him under various heads, and may be summarised in the same order.

I. *The Crest Wall and Fortifications.*[2]—The wall which surmounted the eastern crest of the ridge was uncovered for a length of 20 metres, from the northern boundary of M. Weill's area. It proved to be double, consisting of two thicknesses of masonry juxtaposed; the outer face of the eastern section rises vertically from the prepared surface of the rock and is composed of squared blocks mingled with smaller stones; the inner section also is faced on the eastern side where it adjoins the outer section, suggesting that the latter is a subsequent addition. Father Vincent[3] and M. Weill are not completely agreed on this point, the excavator believing that this double wall represents only a single period (possibly that of Nehemiah), while Father Vincent indicates various differences in construction between the two sections as evidence that the outer section represents a later restoration of the inner. He suggests the period immediately before the Exile for the inner section and that of Nehemiah for the outer.[4]

[1] *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 1894–1897, pp. 230–233.
[2] *Cité de David*, Part II, cap. II = *R.E.J.*, LXX, pp. 18–36.
[3] *R.B.*, 1921, Oct., p. 550 *sq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 561.

The system of fortification below this double wall is of considerable interest. The slope of the ridge, when cleared of débris, revealed a series of glacis, each ending in a shere drop of from 4 to 6 metres; the whole resembling, as M. Weill says, a gigantic staircase with sloping steps. The vertical scarps were formed by cutting away the rock; where this did not suffice the work was completed by structures of masonry. The glacis were of a hard clay firmly imbedded in the spaces between the successive scarps or walls. No less than five lines of defence could be traced in addition to the crest wall; these are numbered from the top M. 2 to M. 6 in M. Weill's system of nomenclature. It must not, however, be supposed that these lines are of an unbroken regularity, nor are they necessarily all of one period. For instance, it is possible that the remarkably well conceived and solidly built bastion called M. 3 was a later addition, thrust forward to cover the dead ground between earlier lines at M. 2 and M. 4; since it differs from them in being built not on the rock but on débris 2 or 3 metres deep. Nevertheless, when the system was complete it enabled the defenders, protected by the walls and scarps, to organise a resistance on several successive lines before the attackers could reach the crest wall. In M. Weill's opinion the principal features of this system date back to the Canaanite period; latter additions may have been made under the Jewish monarchy, such as M. 3, which perhaps corresponds to one of the outer walls which were built by Hezekiah and Manasseh (2 Chron. xxxii, 5; xxxiii, 7). Father Vincent,[1] however, is disposed to carry back the building of M. 3 to the Canaanite period, no late pottery having been found by him in the layer of clay which forms its foundations; but this view does not exclude a later restoration of the bastion.

Near his northern boundary M. Weill uncovered a transverse wall (B–B on his plan) which runs eastward from the crest-wall down into the Kidron valley, cutting across the five lines of defence which have been described. This wall rests on the rock at its upper section under the crest-wall, and also in the valley, where it loses itself in the soil which the excavators have not yet removed. Between these points it is built on the clay which forms the glacis of the fortifications, and appears to be a disturbing element amongst them, evidently belonging to a later period. In the valley there are traces of another wall, parallel to B–B at 5 or 6 metres distance

[1] *R.B.*, 1921, p. 560.

from it, of which only a short section has been uncovered. Both these walls consist of rough stones, B–B has a width of 1·50 m. to 2 metres at the base, diminishing to half that width at the top. Having now been exposed to the rains of several winters it proves to be of even less consistency than at first appeared, and shows, according to Father Vincent,[1] signs of imminent collapse. M. Weill's conclusion as to the nature of this wall, with which Father Vincent agrees, is that it was a protective wall, *mur de masque*, connecting the fortress with some outwork or guard-house commanding the approach along the Kidron valley. As it appears to be later than the line M. 3 it is impossible to date this wall earlier than the last days of the Jewish monarchy.

A little to the south of the line of this wall the circular foundations of a tower ("*Tour* H") were found lying astride the fortification line M. 5 and carefully adapted to the profile of the rocky scarp. This tower, which appears on M. Weill's plan some 20 to 25 metres away from the crest-wall and about 15 metres below it, was over 7 metres in diameter and enough remains to show that it was constructed of regular masonry 1·20 m. thick. The fact that it was built upon the rock, and not upon débris, only shows that in the Jewish period the rock was still uncovered at this point; the tower itself is not of early date, as is shown by the sherds of late Judaeo-Hellenic pottery imbedded in its masonry.[2] Father Vincent thinks it may date from the restoration of the defences of Jerusalem under Nehemiah, and that it may have stood till the Roman Period; to M. Weill it seems not impossible that we have here the remains of that Tower of Siloam[3] of which the fall is mentioned in Luke xiii, 4.

Reserving for later discussion the consideration of the rock-tombs, which were found amongst these, the more northern, sections of the fortification-line, M. Weill passes to a description of his excavation near the southern extremity of the ridge, the "prow," as he calls it, which descends abruptly between the two valleys and dominates the Birket el-Ḥamra. In this region he was unable to excavate the lower slope of the hill, but fortunately the line of the

[1] *R.B.*, 1921, p. 537.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 537.

[3] M. Weill points out that the name Siloam was gradually extended to apply to the Kidron valley. It survives in the form Silouân as the name of the village which lies across the valley, opposite Ed-Dahoura, *Cité de David*, Part I., cap. III, § II (end) = *R.E.J.*, LXIX, p. 61.

main fortification wall can here be traced at various points on the surface, rendering possible a general reconstruction of the plan of defensive works. Moreover, it will be remembered that the excavations of Bliss and Dickie had shown how the wall encircling the later city ran across the Tyropoeon to the foot of Ed-Dahoura.

M. Weill uncovered the crest wall on the east of his southern area, and found that it was here double, the inner line standing higher than the outer, suggesting to him a contracted form of the system which he had discovered further to the north. The masonry which unites these two lines into a single wall, is massive enough to give the impression of being the substructure of some larger bastion or tower. Further to the west a section of the line overlooking the Birket el-Hamra proved to consist of a scarp 4 metres high cut in the rock and surmounted by masonry. In plan this section describes a re-entrant arc, connecting the defences overlooking the Tyropoeon valley on the west with a square bastion which guarded the southernmost point of Ed-Dahoura. This bastion ("Y" in M. Weill's plan), though outside the excavated area, can be traced at various points, and it is evident that it projected down the slope of the ridge like a spur, its eastern, or rather south-eastern, face being in continuation of the crest-wall and forming with it a straight line; upon this same line, produced across the valley, is the dam which blocks the lower end of the Birket el-Hamra.

Immediately to the north of this bastion an interesting discovery was made. It will be remembered that the wall discovered by Bliss and Dickie in front of the later dam was carried back to the foot of Ed-Dahoura by a right-angle turn, an arrangement which would have been most naturally explained by the existence of a gateway, but that a cross-wall near the foot of the ridge seemed to exclude this possibility. M. Weill has now demonstrated the existence of a steep way, cutting like a groove through masonry and rock, and leading down from the acropolis through a narrow opening in the crest-wall, towards the very point where the outer wall runs back. There are signs that this way was once a flight of steps, and M. Weill has no doubt but that it was continued, by some form of stairway, over the cross-wall which had at first seemed to block all access to the acropolis. Needless to say, this was a later development; the flight of steps had originally no doubt led through a portion in the Canaanite crest-wall, an arrangement for which Father Vincent finds analogies elsewhere, notably at

Boghaz-Keui.[1] Both he and M. Weill are of the opinion that these steps are the Stairs of the City of David, mentioned by Nehemiah.[2]

II. *Burial Remains on the Outer Slope.*[3]—Under the dense layers of débris, the refuse of the ancient city, which covered the five lines of fortification on the eastern slope, the excavations laid bare considerable traces of ancient burials. M. Weill summarises the periods of which vestiges are found as follows:—

Canaanite	Tombs in the rock.
Ancient Jewish	Beds of pottery on the rock.
Middle Jewish	Débris to the level of, and upon, the higher fortification terraces; and burial remains within these terraces and in the old tombs.
Roman	The débris of the upper layers of very considerable thickness.

Below the fortification line M. 2 occurs a vertical wall of rock 7 metres high, which the excavations uncovered for a length of 50 metres. This cliff is a continuation of that in which Parker's expedition of 1909–1911 had discovered a number of tombs, and in the section now excavated were found the Canaanite tombs numbered T. 6 and T. 7, as well as a natural cave (L–K) which had been used as a common grave in Jewish times. On a somewhat higher level was another Canaanite tomb (T. 4) which had been used again in the Jewish Period; lower down, at the foot of M. 4, another (T. 5) was found intact. Tomb T. 6 consists of a sort of niche cut in the face of the rock, 2·20 m. in width, with a roof in the form of a rounded arch, 5 metres high at the entrance. The lower half of the back wall of this niche has been cut away, so as to give a length of about 3·50 m. at the floor level. For about half this distance the floor has been levelled, but under the back wall is a pit 1·50 m. deep, roughly circular and having an average diameter of 1·70 m. This was evidently the place of burial, but it had been rifled[4] and nothing was found in it. Towards the entrance

[1] *R.B.*, 1921, p. 547.

[2] Neh. iii, 15, xii, 37. The positions of the various gates of Jerusalem of which the names are known to us are discussed by M. Weill in Part I, cap. III, § III = *R.E.J.*, LXIX, pp. 61-68, and by Father Vincent *R.B.*, 1921, pp. 563–568.

[3] *Cité de David*, Part II, cap. III = *R.E.J.*, LXX, pp. 149–161. Plates XI–XIII.

[4] Is it not conceivable, however, that this completely empty tomb never was in fact used for a burial?

two tables or benches had been cut in the rock 50 cm. from the ground, that on the right of the entrance being noticeable for having a depression, 30 cm. deep, cut in it, of rectangular shape but with rounded angles, evidently intended for the reception of offerings at the tomb. The neighbouring, T. 7, was a natural cave, which was found to contain the remains of two bodies, one above the other, each laid at full length upon a bed of beaten earth behind a low wall. The upper burial contained objects of the middle Canaanite Period, including a small stone cippus and a little table for offerings of pink limestone with five cup-holes, one in the centre and one at each angle. Both these tombs were buried beneath the glacis resting on M. 3; the presumed rifling of T. 6 must therefore have taken place before that line of defences was constructed. The lower tomb, T. 5, a rectangular trench containing a full length burial and ordinary Canaanite pottery, is from its position evidently not earlier than the scarp M. 4, and affords conclusive evidence of the early date of the outer system of defences. A more carefully constructed tomb (T. 4) just below the crest wall consisted of a roughly oval chamber, opening off a miniature court-yard at the top of the little cliff. The entrance, 1·70 m. high and 1 metre wide, had been walled up, but the tomb, which is of Canaanite workmanship, contained only remains, dating from the Jewish period, of a very large number of skeletons, including a row of which the skulls were so placed that it was evident that they had been severed from the bodies. Another common grave of the same period (called T. 8), which had been dug in the glacis behind the bastion M. 3, as well as part of the natural cave L–K, was full of human remains, amounting to a number which it was found impossible to estimate. These hasty burials appear to be all of one period, to judge from the fragments of pottery found among the remains, which M. Weill attributes to the seventh, or early sixth century. He suggests that these bones may be those of the Assyrians of Sennacherib; Father Vincent, however, thinks that they are more likely to date from Nebuchadrezzar's siege, about 588 B.C., but he is careful to point out the conjectural character of such hypotheses.[1]

III. *The Aqueduct along the Side of the Ridge, and Hezekiah's Tunnel.*[2]—The measures which were taken at successive periods for

[1] *R.B.*, 1921, p. 554 *sqq.*

[2] *Cité de David*, Part II, cap. IV = *R.E.J.* LXX, pp. 161–179.

the purpose of supplying the city with water from the Virgin's Spring (Gihon) have already been outlined. M. Weill's excavations only include the aqueduct (*canal II*) which carried the water along the east side of the ridge for the greater part of its length till it finally led through a tunnel to the Birket el-Hamra. At the point where the excavators reached *canal II*, the aqueduct proved to be running through a section of tunnel, but they were fortunate enough to strike one of the characteristic windows of the aqueduct, under thick layers of Roman pottery. Access having thus been obtained to the aqueduct, it was ultimately cleared for 70 metres or so, and found to run through a section of tunnel into which two shafts (subsequently closed) had been sunk from above, apparently to facilitate the work of construction. This part of *canal II* proved to be that which Schick had already explored and described.[1] With the information now at his disposal, M. Weill was able, by making a careful calculation of the various levels, to distinguish this *canal II* from *canal I*, correcting the old error which had confused their sources in the Gihon cave. We cannot follow M. Weill through his detailed description[2] of the various sections of the tunnel through which *canal II* runs. It must suffice to say that the width of the tunnel averages about 45 to 50 centimetres, its height from 1·40 m. to 1·60 m., occasionally a little higher; the floor of the tunnel at some points is so narrow as to render walking difficult. As to its plan, it follows closely the contour of the ridge-side, only running underground where an open channel cannot be cut at the proper level; and even then the outer wall of the tunnel is made as thin as possible, the keeping of direction being facilitated by the windows which are cut in the outer wall at short intervals. At a few points, however, where the rock forms a natural salient, the tunnel cannot conveniently follow the outline of the ridge; and an examination of a section 16 metres long where this has happened, has led M. Weill to general conclusions as to the methods of the ancient Jewish workmen. He finds that where they decided no longer to follow the outline, two parties, working towards one another, both turned abruptly inwards and were only able to effect a junction by the aid of a shaft sunk from above midway between them. Arguing from this that

[1] *Q.S.*, 1891, pp. 13–18, with plan facing p. 15.

[2] *Cité de David*, Pt. II, cap. IV, § II = *R.E.J.* LXX, pp. 164–9, with diagram showing cross-sections of the tunnel at various points.

the ancient workmen had no sense of direction which would enable them to proceed in a straight line underground, and that they were entirely guided by *sound*, either of other parties working or of the human voice, in finding their bearings, he proceeds to explain the windings of Hezekiah's tunnel as being accounted for not by the intentional avoidance of a prohibited area (such as the Royal Tombs), but by the essential limitations of the tunnellers. It is impossible here to do full justice to his argument; it is strongly controverted by Father Vincent,[1] who remains unconvinced that the ancients were unable to direct a tunnel in a straight line. He points out that the party which started to work on Hezekiah's tunnel from inside the Gihon cave continued to drive forward into the rock for some 80 metres before the hardness of the rock first compelled them materially to alter their course. The party working from the south also appear to him to have driven straight ahead, until for some sufficient reason they turned aside into the great south-eastern bend of the tunnel at a point marked by a shaft from the surface. Father Vincent continues, therefore, to think that Royal Tombs may not impossibly lie within the area defined by this bend.

IV. *The Jewish Tombs on the Summit of the Ridge.*[2]—Within the circuit of the crest wall, above the series of defences which had been excavated on the eastern slope, M. Weill discovered three important tombs of the Jewish Period, all lying within the great bend of the tunnel. This part of the ridge proved, when excavated, to have been used, probably in Roman times, as a quarry, and thus to have undergone a methodical and uniform devastation, which has made it impossible to do more than trace the outlines of such chambers, pits and cisterns as lay too deep to be completely destroyed. Of the three tombs one, T. 3, is now merely an open pit; but T. 1 and T. 2 are in the form of galleries tunnelled in the rock, both running north and south parallel with the crest wall. T. 1 presents several peculiarities, and M. Weill has been at pains to reconstitute it as it was before later buildings and quarries had altered its surroundings. He concludes that the gallery, which measures 16·50 m. by 2·50 m., was originally covered along its whole length by the semi-circular roof of rock of which part still remains. For ten metres from the entrance the gallery was over four metres high,

[1] *R.B.*, 1921, July, pp. 425–431.

[2] *Cité de David*, Pt. II, cap. V = *R.E.J.* LXXI, pp. 1–17, Plates V *sqq.*

but towards the far end the floor level rises abruptly, reducing the height of the gallery to about 1·80 m. for 6·50 m. of its length. Grooves running along the walls of the loftier portion indicate that the lower half of it had originally been roofed in by a low-centred stone vault, upon which a floor had been laid for the whole length of the gallery, at the same level as the higher portion of the rock floor which still remains. M. Weill, who is followed by Father Vincent,[1] considers that, in its primitive state, the floor of the gallery was at the upper level, and that later a part of the rock floor was cut away so as to make a second gallery at a lower level. That T. 1, in its original form, was a tomb is shown by the trough-like depression at the far end of the upper gallery. From the nature of the work Father Vincent believes the lower gallery to date from the later period of the Jewish monarchy, the original tomb being therefore somewhat earlier. The façade of the original gallery is lost; the door of the lower gallery was reached by a flight of steps descending into a sort of pit; it seems that when the burial in the lower gallery had taken place this pit was filled in. The adjoining tomb, T. 2, is of the same general character as T. 1 in its original form; T. 3 was originally a subterranean chamber, roughly in the form of a rectangle, measuring 5 to 7 metres each way, with several deep niches cut in its sides, and it may have contained several burial-places. M. Weill does not think it too bold to hazard the opinion that these tombs were burial-places of some of the kings of Judah, or of princes of the royal house, an opinion in which Father Vincent is not unwilling to concur.

V.—M. Weill proceeds[2] to describe the other remains on the summit of the ridge. Light is thrown upon their nature by the inscription of Theodotus, already treated of in the *Q.S.*[3] It seems unnecessary therefore to do more than mention that a number of reservoirs, cisterns and chambers, all more or less destroyed or confused by the later Roman quarries, were traced within this area, some of which are apparently part of a system of baths, dating from a short time before A.D. 70. Among them a considerable number of more ancient tombs had apparently been used for secular purposes and converted into cisterns, or the like; evidence, M. Weill considers, that at any rate in the first century of the Christian era the

[1] *R.B.*, 1921, p. 416, Pl. VII, 2.
[2] *Cité de David*, Part II, cap. VI = *R.E.J.* LXXI, pp. 17–40.
[3] *Q.S.*, 1921, pp. 175–181.

position of the Tombs of David and his successors had been completely forgotten. It is to be hoped, however, that M. Weill's work, so successfully begun, and so unfortunately interrupted, may be continued outside the area ravaged by the Roman quarries, and perhaps settle once for all the question of the situation of the Royal Tombs.

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM ASKALON.

By D. G. Hogarth, D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A.

Photographs of three Greek inscriptions from Askalon have reached the Office of the Fund, and, pending a full description of them in the final publication of the excavations, the following brief notes will suffice:—

(1) Ἡ *βουλὴ*[*ι*] | *καὶ ὁ δῆμος* Ὅλον | Ἰνστολήιον Τένακα | ἑκατοντάρχην | λεγιῶνος δεκάτης | Φρετησίας εὐνοίας | ἕνεκα.

The Senate and the People (honoured) Aulus Instuleius Tenax, centurion of the Tenth Fretesian Legion, for his goodwill.

This centurion is the same man who, as a *primipilaris* of the Twelfth Legion, was in Egypt in the eleventh year of Nero (A.D. 65), and with two other soldiers (a centurion of the Twenty-second Legion and a decurion) visited the "Memnon" Colossus at Thebes on 16th March at dawn and scratched on the foot of the statue a record that all three men had heard its voice (*C.I.L.*, III, 1, 30). This inscription, which is in Latin, gives us the more correct spelling of his name, which has been adopted in the translation above. His appearance at Askalon was later in date, when he had been transferred to the Tenth Legion (called "Fretesian" from the Fretum or Sicilian Straits), which formed part of the Palestinian army of Vespasian, after having been sent back in disgrace from the Euphrates. The name Instuleius is very rare, if not unique, in Roman records and has a North European sound. What service he may have rendered to Askalon we do not know. Probably he was left in command of a detachment in garrison there after the great massacre of Jews in its streets in 68 A.D.

(2) Ἡ *βουλὴ*[*ι*] | *καὶ ὁ δῆμος* | Τι*βέριον Ἰούλιον* | Μι*κκιωνᾶ τὸν ἐα*(*υ*) | *τῶν πολειτην* | *εὐνοίας ἕνε*(*κα*).

The Senate and the People (honoured) Tiberius Julius Miccio, their own citizen, for his goodwill.

This inscription is, probably, to be dated a little earlier in the first century A.D. than No. 1. The recipient of the honour, to judge by his nomen and prenomen, was originally a freedman on an Imperial estate (or the son of one). His cognomen is Greek.

(3) Αὐξ. | Ἀσκάλ(*ων*) | Αὐξ. | Ρώμη.

Αὐξι is probably for Αὔξ(*α*)ι; but the iota may be a mark of contraction. The general sense is "Advance Askalon! Advance Rome!" The date of the inscription can hardly be before the second century A.D. The inscription was found on masonry of the Inner Temple.

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip J. Baldensperger.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1920, *p.* 166.)

Ceremonies and Beliefs.

The pilgrimage to Mecca.[1]—The *Ḥaj* (حج) is not considered a feast but a duty, as in fact the *Ḥag* of the Israelites primitively was, for all Israelites had to come to Jerusalem, when they were established in Palestine. But it was first commanded by divine order in Ex. v, 1, "send my people that they may *ḥag* (יחגו) for me in the wilderness."

The return of the *Ḥaj* is the occasion of joy and feasting, but they are not called feasts (*'ayyad*), but simply suppers. The wedding-feast and supper is *'urs* (عرس), the betrothal feasts *khotbe*(*t*) (خطبة), the *nither* (نذر) is a vow, and circumcision is

[1] [It must be recalled that Mr. Baldensperger is dealing with the conditions that obtained several years ago.—Ed.]

called *tathīr* (تطهير), or purification. The *kuwad* (قود) is a feast as a visit of condolence, or on return from soldiering, or from prison, etc. All these feasts have the name of the cause intended and correspond to the *mishteh*-feast of the Israelites: food, generally meat and rice, form the central and only dish. The fellahîn, or rather the real Moslems, have as their forerunners the Rechabites, at least as regards drinking. "Our father commanded us, saying: Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons for ever" (Jer. xxxv, 6). According to the prophecy of Jeremiah the wine-drinking Jews disappeared from the land, and have only come again lately, whilst the keepers of the precepts of their father (Jer. xxxv, 18) have continued as sober as when they first came from Midian, and have found ready followers among the sons of Arabia and followers of Mohammed.

The feast or joyous celebration at the birth of a child, especially when a boy, are held the same day; the men are invited to the supper, and the women carry torches, *mashā'el* (مشاعل), and go singing to the house. (For further details of feasts, see *Q.S.*, April, 1894, p. 128.) Marriage ceremonies generally last a week, with singing and dancing every evening, till about midnight; the week before a full moon is generally chosen, as the *Sahje(t)* dances are on the house-tops or in an open place. These feasts are also called *farraḥ* (فرح), "joy"; and end the seventh day after the final procession, when the couple are led into the house, where they receive blessings and gifts from the invited. (See also *ib.*, p. 134.)

Immediately after the funeral a supper is given by friends of the bereaved. The food given does not differ from any other. It is always a sacrifice, *dhabīḥa* (ذبيحة), but no part is burned or not consumed; and herein these sacrifices differ from the Hebrew ceremonies. (Lev. vii, 1–5.)

Circumcision, *ṭehūr* (طهور), is also a joyous event. The boys are clothed in new clothes and have a turban. They are led in procession to the *jame'* where the operation takes place. But the name is given when the child is born, as they have no fixed date for the ceremony. It is usually accomplished when the child is eight or ten years old, but may also be very late in life, as it is a matter of expense. The ceremony is postponed till the favourable occasion arrives, every family being anxious to invite all their friends and relatives so as to celebrate the sacred event as grandly

as possible. If a horse is to be had it is splendidly saddled, and the boy in new clothes on horseback is led to the mosque, singing and shouting as the procession goes on. As with every festival supper, there is rice and bread and the inevitable sacrifice. Normally the circumcision marks a change in life, and the turban or *'am* indicates that the infant is now admitted into the community of believers, like the Christian confirmation. From henceforth the child should join in every religious duty, such as saying his five prayers a day, and fasting in Ramadan; he should also abstain from pork and wine (which he rarely did before).

Christian feasts more or less resemble those of their respective Churches, and can be said to have no original features; they are all influenced by the mother countries, Rome, Greece and England, whence the Churches have spread again to the East. Converts as a rule know little or nothing about original manners and customs, especially if they are instructed to some degree in the mother tongues of their confessions: French or Italian, Greek or Russian, English or German for the three principal Churches of Christendom. Everybody knows how little Islam has been influenced by either of the above named.

Civil ceremonies of marriage, funerals, births and so forth resemble the Moslem celebrations of the same kind, and people invite each other whenever the church or mosque has nothing to do with the feast.

They venerate their priests and Imams in their functions, but in public life the *khatīb* who has just "read" the blessing on the wheat, or the nuptial tie, or funeral is not more esteemed than any one else, unless he be a Sheikh outside of his sacerdotal functions. The *khatīb*, in fact, is always called Sheikh ——; but to show more definitely what the post is, the word "the khatib" is added. Any Moslem can be a *khatīb* provided he knows how to read the Qoran and can write letters; there is no special ordination.

The Fellahîn as a rule belong to the Shafi (شافعي) sect. The Imam esh-Shafi' was born in Gaza in 767 A.D. and died in Egypt in 819. The difference in certain ceremonies is slight and does not prevent one or the other of the four principal orthodox sects from praying together in one mosque. The North Africans as far as Tripoli are Maleki (مالكي), the Egyptians are Hanbali (حنبلي), the Turks Hanafi (حنفي), and the fellahîn Shafi. The patron-

saint of the village or the district may be of Jewish, or Christian, or Moslem origin, perhaps in some cases primarily of Canaanite origin. Abraham in Hebron, Reuben and Daniel in Philistia, Moses in the Dead Sea region, etc., are of Jewish origin. El-Khadr is Christian (St. George). 'Omar-Ben-Khattab, in Urtas (died in 1276 A.D.), was Moslem. The Badriye(t) (بدرية) in Beth-Safafa is very likely the Greek "Aurora," or perhaps was once of Canaanite origin.

The Welys, which are on hill-tops and surrounded by a few trees, are also undoubtedly occupying the same place, or high places, which their predecessors occupied when first the patriarchs came to Canaan. The groves which surround them are respected, and even a stray branch is not touched, as the Saint would terribly revenge himself against such transgressions. The dread which such high places have spread about is the only excuse that trees are to be found, for every shrub would long ago have disappeared before the woodman's axe and the karami-hunting fellah.

Besides these leaders of sects and the saints, the Palestine Moslems venerate four principal leaders of Holy Orders of Dervishes.

(1) The Sultan 'Abd el-Ḳader el-Ḳheirani (السلطان عبد القادر الخيراني) was a citizen of Bagdad, and was destined to be a Wely before he was born; he is therefore entitled to the name Asbaḳ (اسبق), "the preceder." In this he resembles the prophet Jeremiah. "Before I formed thee in the belly, I knew thee; and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations" (Jerem. i, 5). 'Abd el-Ḳader lived and died in Bagdad, and his Dervishes are still considered to be the most powerful of all orders. The Dervishes of 'Abd el-Ḳader have the white woollen turban and the green standard, and are divided into three degrees. When first initiated they receive the turban and are *Mu'amam* (معمم). They are not bound to wear the turban till they feel really called upon to renounce the world and its pleasures. Of course the Moslem Dervish does not resemble the Christian monk, but rather the Hebrew Levite; and, like the latter, he can live anywhere with his wife and children, working his lands or receiving a part from the threshing-floor if he comes and calls a blessing on the harvest. The *Mu'amam* recalls the Hebrew "porter" or "door-keeper," *shō'ēr* (שֹׁעֵר) (1 Chron. xvi, 38); he has to keep the assembly-room in order, light the fire, and so forth.

The second degree is the *Nakīb* (نقيب). He is in charge of the vessels, etc., and asks for a blessing upon them when they are brought forth. The objects, *'edda[t]* (عدة) are the standard *reie[t]* (راية); the small drum, *bāz* (باز); the cymbals, *kasse(t)* (كاسة); and the big drum, *nōbe* (نوبة). These duties are the same as those of "Heman and Jeduthun, and the rest that were chosen, who were expressed (*nākab*) by name ..... with trumpets and cymbals for those that should sound aloud, and with musical instruments for the songs of God" (1 Chron. xvi, 41, 42).

The third degree is the *Khalify* (خليفه), who alone can confer admittance into the orders. Recruits are generally made in the height of an evening excitement, when the *fukur* (فقر), Dervish dancing, is going on. The enthusiasm by degrees takes hold of many in the assembly, and they fall on the *Khalify*, praying for admittance, which is never refused, provided the candidate is not some exceptional criminal. The *Khalify* would answer to the chief (*sar*) of the Levites (1 Chron. xv, 16).

The second in rank is the Sheikh Ahmed el-Erfa'i (شيخ احمد الرفاعي). He has power over vipers and venomous creatures. His Dervishes are, or at least are supposed to be, sting-proof—as long as the serpent is harmless! Though this is a Moslem order, Christians are partially admitted, as adepts for holding serpents, and they very firmly believe in them. The serpent-proof candidate, *hawy* (حاوي), invokes the patron, *shale illah ya erfa'i* (شيل الله يا ارفاعي), whenever he approaches a serpent. The Dabera viper is the deaf viper "that stoppeth her ear, which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely" (Ps. lviii, 4, 5).

The third is the Seyyed Ahmed el-Bedawy (السيد احمد البداوي.; he is acknowledged, like the above two, to be a descendant of the Prophet. The men have a red turban and the red standard. The Bedawy was born at Fez, in Morocco, about 1200 A.D., and died in Egypt almost a centenarian in 1296 A.D. His tomb is in Tantah. The Bedawy Dervishes are known to be the wildest of all. They strike themselves with swords, they stick pins into their eyes and cheeks, and thrust their short spears into themselves,

wounding themselves, and dancing all the while, invoking God and their patron. In fact they are veritable descendants of the prophets of Baal, who "cried aloud, and cut themselves after their manner with swords (חרבות) and lances (רמחים) till the blood gushed out upon them" (1 Kings xviii, 28). The Mosque of El-Bedawy in Tantah is one of the finest in Egypt, and has a yearly fair, where many wonders are performed. The Bedawy intercedes for barren women, and the feast is very licentious, reminding one to some extent of Baal-Pheor (Num. xxv, 3).

The fourth is the Seyyed Ibrahim el-D'zuḳi (سيد ابراهم الدصوقي). This one is not of the house of the Prophet, but it is the only one who has the yellow standard of Islam. His tomb is in Dasuq in Egypt; for further details, see *Q.S.*, January, 1894.

Prayers are to be said five times a day:

The Morning Prayer, *ẕalat es-ẕubeḥ* (صلاة الصبح); from the first streaks of day light to noon.

The Midday Prayer, *ẕalat etẕ-tẕohor* (صلاة الظهر); from noon to about 3 o'clock in winter and 4 o'clock in summer.

The Afternoon Prayer, *ẕalat el-'aẕer* (صلاة العصر); from 4 o'clock to sunset.

The Sunset Prayer, *ẕalat el-maghrub* (صلاة المغرب); at sunset.

The Evening Prayer, *ẕalat el-'iṧhah* (صلاة العشا); from sunset to midnight.

Other prayers can be said, but are then for the Prophet, whilst these five are a debt or duty, *farad* (فرد). They do not necessarily wait to say their prayers till the *Muadḏhin* (مادن) calls for prayers, for in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the fellah who calls is at work, and only calls the evening prayer in the month of Ramadan. Before prayers are said, they put down the mantle and, having made the ablutions, put away the shoes and face the *Ḳible(t)* (قبلة). They begin by standing and by lifting up the hands to both sides of the face, and they say: "I intend to pray." Then the *Fatiḥah* or opening prayer is repeated a certain number of times while they, kneeling down, kiss the ground and then rise again.

The Hebrews had evidently forgotten their ceremonies, and what they did at the command of Ezra and Nehemiah they had not done during the preceding thousand years "from Joshua the

son of Nun unto that day" (Neh. viii, 17). "All the people stood up: And Ezra blessed the Lord, the great God. And all the people answered, Amen, Amen, with lifting up their hands: and they bowed their heads, and worshipped the Lord with their faces to the ground" (Neh. viii, 5–6).

Mohammedan prayers as mentioned are simply debts paid; therefore, provided so many repetitions of the prayers are accomplished at given hours, a man has done his duty and angels will prepare his abode in Paradise. As they generally pray on some elevation, to be as far away as possible from the street and from unclean places, they can survey the neighbourhood. If between one kneeling and the other (as every prayer is composed of two to five acts of kneeling, *rak'āt*) an incident should happen, the man on his knees will interrupt his prayer and say what he has to say or curse or scold, as the case may be, and will then quietly bring his prayer to an end, not in the least disturbed or hurt in his feelings.

Prayer is a duty every Mohammedan has to perform; it gives him a more glorious abode in Paradise, it is true; and he must suffer for every prayer omitted on the flagstone of hell. But a Moslem will, at all events, be saved.

Occult things are believed in by Christians, Mohammedans and Jews. The sorcerer, *saḥār* (سحار), has not ceased to exist through the many religious changes of Palestine, but influences the modern fellahîn with as much terror as the Amorite before the invasion by the Jews. He principally causes illusions, changes things, and makes them appear "for a short time" to be what they are not, as the sorcerers before Pharaoh with their rods. Among the Israelites the enchanter (*mekasshsheph*) was forbidden by law (Deut. xviii, 10).

The geomancer, *ramāl* (رمال), reads in the sand what he is to answer. He foretells events by means of the forms and positions of the shell with which he juggles. The enchanter, *rakie(t)* (Ex. vii, 22), resembles the *saḥār*, like the European juggler. The diviner, *dalīl* (دليل), has a book in which he has "indicators," *dalāel* (دلايل), to discover treasures. The interpreter of dreams, *ḥallām* (حلام), has a book, and by putting the book and a portion of the clothing of the dreamer under his pillow can explain the signification. We know how old this is from the stories of Joseph and of Daniel.

The charmer, *ḥāwy* (حاوي), is a Dervish of the Erfa'i order, and charms serpents. The necromancer of Deut. xviii, 11, "he who seeks the dead" (דרש אל־המתים), is the mysterious sheikh, pretending to be in speech with the Jan; the mediator must be a man by the name of Ahmed Mohammed, or a girl before puberty, who has to answer questions.

We see by these examples how little change has been brought about in these regions for the last 4000 years.

Ghosts are believed to influence the family life, and follow the details of everyday life as minutely as a member of the family. Here also the three leading religions of Palestine agree perfectly. The Jan, though Moslem and heathen, are yet believed to exist and influence Moslems more than Christians, and have more power in Egypt than on the sanctified ground of the Holy Land. In the *Q.S.*, 1893, July, and 1899, April, are full details. The ghosts are usually divided into five or six classes.

The Jan (جان), Jinn or Djinn of Oriental stories are good or bad demons, who follow, appear and disappear in places where the name of God is not judiciously employed. They are especially busy about granaries, threshing-floors, store-rooms, kitchens and negligent housewives. They are very hungry fellows, and neither sow nor reap, but take their food wherever they can get it. These are the *shēdīm*, to whom the Israelites sacrificed in secret (Deut. xxxii, 17).

The *ḳird* (قرد) is a field goblin known for his swift movements and monkey-like appearance in desolate places. The Satyr or שעיר, Sa'ir of Lev. xvii, 7, and Isaiah xxxiv, 14 (שעיר), is this ghost which "dances" (Is. xiii, 21).

The *mārid* (مارد) is a ghost confined to the spot where someone has been killed. Such ghosts have generally human features, and can extend themselves to unusual heights without losing contact with the earth. Others retain the circumstances of the murder, moaning, calling of help; or they gallop on horseback as though they were hurrying to fetch help, but they always return to the same place.

The *raṣad* (رصد) is a gnome guarding a treasure which may appear under the most fantastic forms, *e.g.*, as one or more individuals or living beings. The *ḳarina* (قرينة) is a female spirit attached to every woman and partaking her joys and sorrows with

more or less jealousy. The Ghoul (غول) is the anthropophagous monster, living in caves and stony regions, far from villages, perhaps the "night monster" or Lilith of Is. xxxiv, 14, met with in desolate places.

On the 25th July, 1901, Sheikh 'Awad Khalil Abu Shahīn, the Khatīb of Artas, died after a short illness of about twelve hours. He was about 65 years old. His son, who was destined to be Khatīb after him, died a few years ago as sergeant in Albania. As there was no other literate man in the village, a Wallaye Khatīb from the noble house of 'Absiye (عبسيه) became his successor. A wedding ceremony was just begun with the usual songs and dances on the roofs in the fairy moonlight of an Eastern night when the news spread of his death, and the wedding was postponed till next full moon. All women of the kindred either put away the ornaments, or covered them with rags, and chanted their lamentable tunes. In the morning the body was washed, and as he is said to have died as a Saint, without suffering and without complaining, and gave the supreme witness before death, he was clothed in a white *thōbe* and a green caftan, a peculiar favour to such persons; a new tarbush and white turban completed the toilet. The whole was now wrapped into the white shroud. According to his last will he was buried in the same grave with his brother, and though he had advised the women not to lament him, the wish was not fulfilled. Often had he told me that the women are accursed who bewailed the dead by dancing and tearing their hair, yet he could not influence them enough to hinder these posthumous honours. The sound of the mills was not heard, nor the songs in the vineyards of the relatives for the next weeks as a sign of profound mourning, reminding one vividly of the sorrow in Israel: "I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride, the sound of the millstones, and the light of the candle" (Jer. xxv, 10).

In spite of all injunctions in the Mosaic law against cutting the body and making oneself bald (Lev. xxi, 5, and Deut. xiv, 1) the custom of lamenting the dead was widespread, not only in all the non-Israelitish nations of Palestine (Isaiah xv, 2, 3) but also among the Jews, and even accepted by so serene a prophet as Jeremiah. The sixteenth chapter of Jeremiah, though reproving certain customs, threatens the disobedient Jews with calamities,

which should not appear as such if the law was strictly obeyed. Yet the prophet says: "both the great and the small shall die in this land: they shall not be buried [a great insult to the dead in every country], neither shall men lament for them" (*v.* 6). That this lamentation resembled very much the modern lamentations of the Moslem women singing the good and glorious deeds of the departed is seen by another passage in the same prophet (xxii, 18): "They shall not lament for him saying, 'Ah my brother!' or 'Ah sister!' they shall not lament for him saying, 'Ah Lord!' or 'Ah his glory!'" And again in chapter xvi: "they shall not cut themselves, nor make themseves bald, ... neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father or for their mother" (*v.* 6 *seq.*). This has been changed by the sober Moslems into a supper, where coffee alone is handed round after eating, also as a consolation called *akẖadh bilkẖāṭer* (اخذ بالخاطر) following immediately the burial of the dead. Subsequent suppers are also given in the house of the bereaved, but the floor is furnished by those who come to console. This visit of condolence has no limits, it may be a year or more afterwards. The chief person receives the traditional red garment, *ḥidm* (حدم), in return for the honour. It is a very expensive ceremony for both parties.

(*To be continued.*)

THE BATTLE OF HATTÎN.[1]

July 1, 1187.

By Estelle Blyth.

There are few periods of history more picturesque than that of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Short-lived as it was, lasting in all but eighty-eight years, the Crusading dominion has left an enduring mark upon Palestine,—in Frankish words in the language, and in the ruined churches and castles scattered throughout the land,

[1] From the United Service Magazine, July, 1910, with the kind permission of the publishers, Messrs. Clowes & Sons, Ltd.

melancholy memorials of the romantic past. The history of Crusading Jerusalem is a mine of romance; such chivalry and knightly valour, such dark intrigues and mysteries, deeds of almost superhuman bravery, stultified by the base self-seeking of some ambitious soul; and over all, the King of Jerusalem, harassed by civil strife and perils from without, a tree battered by every storm. For the crown of Jerusalem was ever a crown of thorns.

Of all the Kings of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan, the ninth and last, was the only contemptible one. Faulty enough the others were, but they were at least brave, and erred boldly like men. Guy flits across the pages of history, a pale indefinite shadow, neither soldier, statesman, nor ruler, but playing ineptly at all three. Before turning to that last fight wherein the kingdom fell, never to rise again, we must look back a little way at its previous history, in order to get some idea of the network of treachery, knavishness, and amazing blunders which culminated at Kurn Hattîn.

In 1174 Baldwin IV. succeeded his father Amaury as King of Jerusalem. He had many graces of mind and body, but he was a leper. The fatal disease crept upon him, and gradually destroyed him, mind and body. The kingdom needed the strong hand of a Godfrey: and Baldwin, weak and indolent by nature, as well as by the insidious working of his awful disease, was king in name only. He bestowed the hand of his beautiful elder sister Sybil, widow of William de Longue-Epée, on Guy de Lusignan. Guy was in truth an exile, Henry II. of England having banished him from his French dominions for the murder of Patric, Earl of Salisbury. A handsome, worthless creature, Guy was the idol of his ambitious wife, and the tool of her party. His character is best described in the biting words of his brother Geoffrey, "Had they known me, the men who made my brother king would have made me a god!" Despite the loud dissatisfaction of the barons, fresh honours were constantly heaped upon Guy, and he was made regent. At last the protests became so emphatic that Baldwin was obliged to depose him from being regent, and to take his eight-year-old nephew, Baldwin, the son of Sybil's first marriage, as co-ruler. Guy, summoned to answer the charges against him, refused, and went to Askalon, whither Baldwin followed him. The gates of Askalon were shut. It is a pathetic picture, that of the stricken king, now also blind, vainly seeking admittance at the gates of one of his own cities, while the ex-regent snaps his fingers at him from within.

Baldwin returned to Jerusalem and deprived Guy of his titles, appointing Raymond, Count of Tripoli, regent.

So much for the internal state of the kingdom. At her gates Saladin, the noblest figure of the age, was forcing an entrance. He had been irritated by the repeated predatory incursions of the treacherous Renaud de Chatillon, Sieur of Kerak and of the rich lands "Outre-Jourdain." Saladin's reiterated complaints to Baldwin proving fruitless, he ravaged Galilee in return, besieged Beyrout, and was only recalled to Damascus by private affairs. Raymond of Tripoli made a treaty with Saladin—a deed which has laid him open to the charge of treachery. But it seems to be an unjust charge. There is nothing in the subsequent history of Raymond to warrant the charge of ill-faith; and his advice to Guy on the eve of the fatal battle of Hattîn should clear him from this stain. The truce with Saladin was a part of Raymond's policy to gain time for strengthening the defences of the kingdom, and, if possible, to receive foreign help. Baldwin IV. died very soon after, and the little Baldwin V. within a few months—the last of the Kings of Jerusalem to be buried under Calvary. Sybil sent for the Patriarch and the Grand Masters of the Templars and the Hospitallers. The Patriarch and the Grand Master of the Templars—a French knight-adventurer, Gerard de Ridefort by name—promised their support to her as queen. The Grand Master of the Hospitallers protested, with others of the chief barons, because of the worthlessness of Guy. Sybil, however, was strong enough to carry her point: she was crowned, and bestowed her crown on Guy. Baldwin of Ramleh and Raymond tried to make Humphrey of Toron, the husband of Isabella, Sybil's younger sister, accept the crown. Humphrey, a person of more honesty than wit, fled by night to Jerusalem, blurted out the whole matter to Sybil, and became her man. By Raymond's advice, the barons also tendered their allegiance, but under protest. Baldwin of Ramleh left Palestine, and Raymond retired to his castle of Tiberias. Guy, ever suspicious, proposed to cut Raymond's claws by besieging him at Tiberias; whereon Raymond applied to Saladin for help, and received 500 men from him. The Templars, acting for Guy, were beaten in a gallant fight at Nazareth; and a hollow peace was patched up between Guy and Raymond.

The curtain now rises on the second act of the drama. Saladin had thought Raymond was his when he appealed for help against

Guy. He now learnt his mistake, and by way of retaliation advanced upon Tiberias and invested it. The Countess of Tripoli held out bravely, but at last sent an urgent message for help. The summer was drawing to its full heat, and those who have experienced the heat of Tiberias, low sunk in the plains of Galilee, will pity the unfortunate lady who had to endure the rigours of siege there in the hot weather. Her four sons, knights, were with her; but naturally Raymond's absence was sorely felt. Guy advanced to Sefforieh and camped there by the spring. It was the best position he could have chosen, as it was well watered and in open line of communication with Acre, one of the strongest Crusading cities. He remained there, hesitating, changing his mind day by day—and doing nothing. The Countess of Tripoli's message stirred him at last to action of some sort—unfortunately of the wrong sort. A council of war was called on the night of 30th June, 1187. The majority advised attacking Saladin, who lay on the heights above Tiberias. Guy seems to have been as usual a mere figurehead, a leaf tossed this way and that on the wind of words about him.

But presently Raymond of Tripoli rose up. "Sire," he said, "I would fain give you good advice if you will only trust me; but I know full well none will believe me." Guy bade him speak his mind freely. Raymond's advice was noble in its complete absence of self-interest. Comparing the disparity in numbers between the two armies, he counselled a warfare of defence as the only safe course for them with their limited numbers. He urged that Tiberias should be abandoned to its fate. There was no water by the way, and any attempt to relieve it would mean almost certain destruction. "If I lose wife, soldiers, city," he ended, "so be it! I will get back all when I can. I had rather lose my city than this whole land." His advice could not but prevail. He was on his own lands, and knew every inch of the surrounding country. When the council broke up at midnight it had been agreed that they should act solely on the defensive till help from Europe, urgently sought long since, enabled them to attack. Raymond's mind was at rest; he had thrown his all, wife, sons, possessions, in the balance for the kingdom's safety. No man could do more.

But the Grand Master of the Temple, Raymond's implacable foe, followed Guy to his tent, and hotly urged him to reject the advice of "the traitor Count." Guy dared not refuse. It was de Ridefort who had secured him the crown; it was de Ridefort who

was supporting him now with the treasure of the Temple. The bulk of this money came from Henry II. of England, and was in fact conscience-money paid to the Templars after the murder of Becket. Raymond's sacrifice had been made in vain; de Ridefort conquered. To the astonishment of all, the order was given to march at dawn.

And now began the tragedy of the march that was to end in Kurn Hattîn. They were some three miles from Tiberias; the heat was intolerable to the Christians in their heavy armour. The truth of Raymond's advice was terribly proved at every step. The big foreign chargers with their heavily armed riders were unfitted for the steep rocky roads; flies, dust, and thirst increased the sufferings of all. The plain over which they marched is waterless east of Kefr-Kenna (Cana of Galilee), but the position of Saladin was backed by several springs. Parties of Arab and Kurdish light horse now began to hover round the little Christian army, stinging and annoying. Lightly armed, and mounted on the swift, sure-footed, little Syrian horses, they had entirely the advantage of the toiling Christians. Worse still, they fired the dry grass and stubble, and the wind blew choking clouds of smoke and flames upon the Crusaders. With infinite pains, the Christians gained the Plain of Hattîn. This plain is situated in the uplands of Galilee, and is the smaller or south-eastern part, while the western half, which is the larger, is called the Plain of Buttauf. The elevation is 300 feet above the Mediterranean, and 1500 above the Sea of Galilee. Midway between the two plains rises a blunt, two-horned hillock some sixty feet in height, named by the natives from its shape Kurn Hattîn, or the Horns of Hattîn. It is also called the Mount of the Beatitudes, and is thought by many to be the scene of the Sermon on the Mount. From the ridge of the plain a steep path leads straight down to the lake. From here the view is a wide and beautiful one, seen to the best advantage in the clear Eastern atmosphere. The district is the great battle-field of Palestine—Barak and the battle of the Kishon. Saul is defeated by the Philistines, who were certainly far better soldiers than the Israelites. Through the Valley of Jezreel, Jehu "drives furiously" to complete his judgment of blood upon the House of Arab. Westward lies Acre with his Crusading memories, and, later, of Napoleon, whose siege-works can still be traced. At the battle of Tabor, Junot drove the Turks into the treacherous swamps of the Kishon where

Sisera's host perished. To the name of each place the memory of some battle answers like an echo.

The Crusading army was composed of picked and tried warriors, but it was not large. The numbers are given variously, but there were about 2,000 knights, 20,000 foot, and a considerable body of cavalry. Raymond led the first division, Balian of Ibelin and the Templars brought up the rear. In the midst of the army came the Bishops of Lydda and Acre bearing a precious relic, a piece of the true cross, in which the Crusaders had far greater faith than anything else. The Christians reached Kurn Hattîn during the afternoon, weary and spent after the toilsome march. The Saracen host hovered around like a dark and menacing cloud, in numbers far exceeding those of their foe. Retreat and advance were alike impossible; Guy gave the order to close forthwith. An indecisive engagement followed: the Christians were too much exhausted to attack with any vigour, and Saladin was unwilling to put out his full strength now. Night fell, and the two armies drew apart and waited for day to renew the contest. It was a night of terrible suffering for the Christians: to weariness of body were added agonies of thirst. They were in sight of the doomed city of Tiberias, and of the still waters of Galilee—both equally inaccessible. The breathless heat of the summer night was heavy with dust, and the grass that the Saracens had fired yet smouldered underfoot. We cannot wonder that some of them stole away under cover of the dark to Saladin's camp, and laid down their arms in exchange for a draught of blessed water.

At dawn Guy gave battle to end the sufferings of his men: and in stern silence the little army charged to meet its doom. The issue of the day was inevitable; but the fortunes of each side varied. The Saracens closed round the Christians, keen foes, swift and merciless. The Bishop of Lydda fell. In dying he handed his precious charge of the true cross to the Bishop of Acre, from whom it was captured. The moral effect of this loss upon the Crusaders was tremendous. All their courage seemed to evaporate, and man cried to man that all was lost, for the cross was taken. In sullen despair they flung away their weapons, and cast themselves down, to be killed or made captive as the conquerors saw good. A few sought a more honourable release at the swords of the enemy. Round Guy and the royal standard some hundred and fifty of the knights fought with useless valour, but the day was lost. Raymond,

Balian of Ibelin, and a few more cut their way through, and escaped to Tyre. Here Raymond died, broken-hearted, only fifteen days later. Balian of Ibelin survived, to witness the last overwhelming disaster of the fall of Jerusalem on the 1st October.

Guy, Geoffrey de Lusignan, the Grand Master of the Templars, and the oft-perjured Renaud de Chatillon, and those few knights and leaders who yet lived, were brought before Saladin in his tent. Saladin, courteous ever, and compassionate of their plight, ordered iced sherbet to be given to the prisoners. Guy was the first to drink, and then handed his goblet to Renaud de Chatillon. "Thou hast given him to drink, not I," were the ominous words of Saladin, meaning that though partaker of his bounty, the traitor Renaud had no claim upon his mercy. Some say that Saladin himself cut down the hated Sieur of Kerak; others (and this is more likely), that he was dragged from the tent and beheaded outside. Readers of 'The Talisman' will remember the picturesque use which Scott makes of this incident. The Hospitallers and Templars were offered life and freedom if they would change their faith. The offer was rejected with scorn, and two hundred of them were beheaded.

The Battle of Hattîn opened the way to the conquest of the whole land. Tiberias, Nablus, Ramleh, Cæsarea, Jaffa, Jericho, Ascalon, Gaza, Beyrout—all the great fortresses, in fact—surrendered one after another. Four months later Jerusalem also lay in Saladin's hand. The Christian dominion in Palestine was broken utterly, never again to be lifted up.[1]

A MOTHER IN ISRAEL.

By E. J. Pilcher.

An incident in the reign of David is related in 2 Samuel xx. A certain man named Sheba attempted an insurrection. The revolt failed through lack of support, and Sheba took refuge in Abel-beth-Maachah, in the extreme north of Palestine. The royal body-guard

[1] Books consulted or read: 'Jerusalem,' Besant and Palmer; 'Research Work in Palestine,' Conder; 'Palestine,' Temple; 'Palestine and Sinai,' Stanley; 'Palestine,' M. Russell; 'Historium Rerum Anglicarium,' William of Newburgh; 'The Crusades,' Archer and Kingsford; 'Tent work in Palestine,' Conder; and others.

came up in pursuit, and proceeded to invest the town. The inhabitants realised that they were likely to suffer in a quarrel not their own, and they accordingly opened a parley from the walls, reproaching Joab, the king's general, with seeking "to destroy a City, and a Mother in Israel." Joab protested that he had no designs against the city itself, but that he was in pursuit of a wicked rebel. Thereupon the citizens promptly decapitated Sheba, and threw his head over the wall to the besiegers; and Joab broke up the siege and returned home fully satisfied with the course of justice.

The phrase employed in 2 Sam. xx, 19, is עיר ואם בישראל *'Ir ve-'em be-Yisra'el* = "a city, and a mother in Israel." This is interesting for several reasons. In the Hebrew idiom a city was regarded as a mother, and the surrounding villages were her daughters, as in Josh. xvii, 11, and other passages. Hence it was represented to Joab that he, as a son of Israel, was guilty of an unfilial crime in attacking Abel-beth-Maachah. An exactly similiar phrase is found upon the coins of Berytus. At one period of its history Berytus had its name changed to Laodicea; but, as is usual in such cases, the foreign title failed to take root. The native appellation revived, and the place is now known as Beirût. Some of the copper currency of Berytus bears the legend ללאדכא אם בכנען *le-La'odike'a 'em be-Kena'an* = "of Laodicea, a mother in Canaan," which it will be observed is exactly parallel to 2 Sam. xx, 19.[1]

Curiously enough, the great orientalist, Dr. F. C. Movers, forgot the Book of Samuel, and imagined that this inscription claimed Laodicea as the mother-city of Canaan![2] This is repeated by E. Babelon, who remarks that the legend gives the city "the pompous title of Metropolis of Canaan."[3] As a matter of fact, the phrase was not at all pompous. We may perceive by comparison with "Samuel" that Berytus was merely claiming itself to be worthy to rank among the other cities of Phoenicia. We know nothing of the size of Abel-beth-Maachah. It cannot have been a large place; it was probably quite insignificant. Yet to the inhabitants it was "a Mother in Israel." Consequently, the claim of Berytus to be "a Mother in Canaan," was really a very modest one. Nevertheless,

[1] Geo. F. Hill, *Coins of Phoenicia* (London, 1910), p. 1; D. J. Rouvier, *Revue Numismatique*, 1896, pp. 265, 377.

[2] *Die Phönizier* (Bonn-Berlin, 1841–1856), Vol. II, 2nd Part, p. 134.

[3] *Les Rois de Syrie* (Paris, 1890), pp. cviii, 84.

Movers and Babelon tended to mislead Dr. G. A. Cooke, and caused him to find somewhat unnecessary difficulties in the legend, for he characterised it as syntactically "objectionable."[1] He proposed to read it, not אם בכנען, *'em be-Kena'an* = "Mother in Canaan," but אש בכנען, *'esh be-Kena'an* = "which (is) in Canaan." He argued that מ and ש are often indistinguishable upon Phoenician coins. Quite apart from its grammatical difficulties, Dr. Cooke's emendation is unnecessary, for 2 Sam. xx, 19 shows conclusively that the coin is employing a common native phrase, or idiom.

The claim of motherhood appears in a slightly different form on the coinage of Sidon. The full text runs לצדנם אם כמב אפא כת צר, "*le-Ṣidonaim 'em Kambe 'Ap'o Kiti Ṣor*, *i.e.*, "Of Sidon, mother of Carthage, Hippo, Citium, Tyre." Kambe was the original name of the celebrated Carthage in northern Africa. The Punic קרת הדשת, *Kart Ḥadasht*, simply means "new town," corrupted by the Latins into Carthago; by the Greeks into Καρχηδών. Hippo was the bishopric of St. Augustine. Kition, or Citium, was the principal city of Cyprus. Sidon claims all these as her colonies, and also the rival city of Tyre. The inscription on the coin was first correctly deciphered by Dr. F. C. Movers in 1850. He rendered it "*Von den Sidoniern Metropole von Kambe Hippo Citium Tyrus.*" That is to say, he construed צדנם as a masculine plural; and in this he has been followed by later writers; though the construction is obviously faulty, because "Sidonians" (plural) cannot have been "a mother" (singular) of colonies, or anything else. This difficulty has been fully appreciated by some scholars, such as Mr. Geo. F. Hill (*Phoenicia*, p. cvi), who translates "Belonging to (the city of) the Sidonians, the metropolis of Cambe, of Hippo, of Citium, and of Tyre." But it remains to be seen if there is any real difficulty at all.

In the Old Testament we meet with a large number of place-names which end in "*aim*." Prof. G. Buchanan Gray (*Encyc. Biblica*, Vol. III, article "Names") enumerates no less than twenty-two. Each of these words has the appearance of a dual; but it is very difficult to understand why duality should be so frequent in the geography of Palestine. Accordingly, several scholars have disputed whether the "*aim*" termination were a real dual or not; although Prof. Gray, with some hesitation, is inclined to accept these names

[1] *A Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), pp. 46, 349.

as denoting for the most part some double feature in the site. Dr. Jacob Barth in his book entitled "*Die Nominalbildung in den Semitischen Sprachen*" (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 316–354, discusses the matter, and comes to the conclusion that the *-aim* is an ancient local-ending, or an intensive suffix of the same nature as the terminations *-am*, *-om*, *-an*, and *-on*, which are so frequent in Semitic names.

The name of Jerusalem itself is instructive in this connection. The city goes back to at least the Tell-el-Amarna Period, when it figures as *Urusalim*, from which it would appear that the final M is an essential part of the word, and not a suffix. In most passages of the Old Testament it is ירושלם which should, strictly, be transcribed *Yerushalem*; but in a few of the very latest instances we have the form ירושלים, *i.e.*, *Yerushalaim*. That is to say, the word is assimilated to those numerous place-names that have the appearance of a dual. The Jewish coins bear witness to differences of opinion upon the subject. When we examine those of the First Revolt (A.D. 66–70) we find that the pieces of the First Year have *Yerushalem*. In all the following years the spelling is *Yerushalaim*. Those of the Second Revolt (A.D. 132–135) all have *Yerushalem*.[1] There is no doubt that the form *Yerushalem* is the ancient and correct one.[2] Yet we see that the scribes considered that they were making it more venerable and dignified by writing it *Yerushalaim*, so as to resemble the numerous other cases where the place-name has an apparent dual form. If, therefore, as is extremely probable, the Phoenicians had the same idea, the enigmatical צדנם is capable of an intelligible explanation. We should not transcribe it *Zidonim*, and treat it as a plural; but we should render it *Zidonaim*, and consider it an intensive form of *Zidon*. This will at once dispose of all syntactical and grammatical difficulties.

[1] Geo. F. Hill, *Coins of Palestine* (London, 1914), pp. 269, 270, 292. It is needless to remark that the Massoretic pointing is always *Yerushalaim*, whatever the consonantal form of the O.T.

[2] Prof. Sir George Adam Smith, *Jerusalem* (London, 1908), Vol. I, pp. 250–265.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

Jerusalem, 1918-20, *being the Records of the Pro-Jerusalem Council during the period of the British Military Administration.* By C. K. Ashbee. With 79 illustrations and plans. Published by John Murray for the Council of the Pro-Jerusalem Society. £2 2*s.* net.

This volume is published by the Council of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, a body founded in 1918 for the preservation of the old buildings and the development of the new life of Jerusalem. It is a very representative body, of which the High Commissioner of Palestine is Hon. President, and the Governor of Jerusalem—who contributes an Introduction to the volume—is President. All religious bodies are here represented, and those who may be considered as permanent residents in the Holy City form the majority. The volume is illustrated by a number of photographs of extraordinary merit and interest. The first pages deal with work already done or at least put in hand. This includes the cleansing of the citadel both inside and, especially with respect to the fosse, outside; the repairing of the walls and opening up to the public of the long-closed promenade along the top; the restoration of the Suq el-Qattanin; the repair of the tile-work on the dome of the rock and the restoration of the suqs (bazaars), some of which, like the Suq el-'Attarin, were extensively destroyed by snow, as recently as February, 1920. With regard to the city as a whole, various ambitious schemes of "town planning" have been put forward, all suggestive and none of them perfect. One piece of "town planning" all lovers of Jerusalem would like to see is the completion and permanent establishment of the scheme of the "citadel garden" and the "rampart wall." A more ambitious scheme is the proposed new market in "David Street," and at Mahanna Judah, outside the city, nearly a mile along the Jaffa road.

The Pro-Jerusalem Committee has undertaken an even more pressing need in taking up the revival and improvement of the almost dead industries of weaving and tile-making. Something too

may yet be done with glass manufacture, which is an industry that has survived in a poor way at Hebron. The establishment of technical schools for weaving, gardening, and planting is a most important step. An account of all these measures is given in this volume. It is also a fortunate thing that regulations have been passed to control unsightly street advertisements which just before the war were beginning to have a most disfiguring effect in some parts of the city. The social activity of the Society has been extended to prison labour, the relief of refugees, and the organisation of "girl guides."

The second half of the volume contains a number of valuable antiquarian papers by authorities on the subject. Thus, C. R. P. Vincent writes upon "Tombeaux Juifs du Nord" and "Les Monuments de l'Epoque Romaine," M. Nahum Slousch upon "Tombeaux Juifs de l'Est," Prof. P. M. Abel upon "Monuments des Crusades," and Captain Cresswell, late Inspector of Monuments, upon "Moslem Work touched by the Society."

Among the Appendices at the end is given the text of the very important "Antiquities Proclamation."

It will thus be seen that this volume is one of great importance in relation to the present position and immediate future of the Holy City, and all those interested in Jerusalem should make themselves acquainted with its contents. The Pro-Jerusalem Society is one calling for wide public support.

E. W. G. M.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.		Hebrew.	English.
א	’		כ ך	kh
ב ב	b		ל	l
ב ב	bh		מ ם	m
ג	g		נ ן	n
ג	gh		ס	s
ד	d		ע	‘
ד	dh		פ ף	p
ה	h		פ ף	f
ו	v, w		צ ץ	z
ז	z		ק	k
ח	h		ר	r
ט	t		שׁ	sh
י	y		שׂ	s
כ ך	k		ת	t
כ ך	kh		ת	th

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.
ا	’		ض	d
ب	b		ط	t
ت	t		ظ	tz
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh
ح	h		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	k
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	z		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting will be held in the latter part of June, at a date and place which will be announced later.

NOTES AND NEWS.

It is proposed to resume active work at excavations without delay. With this new season the plan is to make trial explorations upon a series of "tells" near Askalon and Gaza, rather than to continue at once the exploration of the vast site of Askalon. Without much greater financial support it is impossible to undertake any kind of exhaustive examination of such a site as this, and the deeper layers, in which lie the "Philistine" remains, are buried under such a depth of Graeco-Roman buildings that to reach them would be a prolonged and very expensive business. In addition to this, Professor Garstang considers that the examination of several sites in this "Philistine" area of S.W. Palestine is necessary for the proper understanding of the great amount of early pottery remains recovered from Askalon itself. Although the new diggings will be not within the walls of Askalon, they will be part of the "Askalon excavations," and are deeply concerned in the chief object for which this site was chosen, viz., "the problem of the Philistines." It is hoped that the whole of the results of the work of the two seasons (1921—1922) will be published next year

(1923) in a special "Annual" similar to those published before the war. The Committee, with the cordial consent of Prof. Garstang, have invited Mr. Phythian-Adams to act as Hon. Director of these new excavations, but they still hope to have the benefit of Prof. Garstang's long experience and active supervision. Any donations towards the new season's undertakings will be gratefully received and specially mentioned.

At the Annual Meeting of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, held at King's College, March 7th, Prof. Garstang gave some account of the various sites which were being excavated in Palestine at the present time. He said: "Taking last year with this, no fewer than eight distinct and well-equipped expeditions will be at work; five, which had been working last year, will continue. The French Archaeological School did an interesting piece of work at Jericho . . . At Tiberias, Dr. Slousch has worked for the young and vigorous Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, disclosing fragments and remains of Roman Tiberias, also sarcophagi of the period of the Talmud. Further north, at Capernaum, the Franciscan Order have been at work for many years in uncovering and preparing for renovation the area in which are the ruins of the famous Synagogue of Capernaum. This piece of work is unique of its kind, in that the building in great measure is intact, except that as a result of an earthquake shock it has fallen, and some part of the stone has been removed, but it is quite possible to restore accurately and exactly the original design with the original materials . . . . At Beisan, the University Museum of Philadelphia has a well-equipped expedition under an equally well-equipped leader, Dr. Fisher . . . . , backed up by magnificent funds the end of which can hardly be seen, but which amounts to something like £15,000 a year . . . He has laid bare, stage by stage, several of the more superficial layers of the top of the great mound of Beisan, and has also cut a great exploratory section . . . . This mound will lead us back clearly beyond the time of the Pharaohs (of which one monument has been found), into the earliest strata of civilization in Palestine . . . . Personally, I think it will be at least twenty years (of systematic work) before Dr. Fisher will arrive at the period of prehistoric antiquity and the mound of Beisan will have disappeared. At Askalon, as we know, the Palestine Exploration Fund has been at work, and I would like to congratulate

them on the results which, through my own fault, have not yet been published . . . . . (Prof. Garstang described the work at Askalon at some considerable length) . . . ."

"Work is going forward in Samaria under the University of Harvard; at Megiddo under the University of Chicago, and the British School itself will commence a short period of investigation at the mouth of the Plain of Esdraelon, near that narrow neck where the Plain of Acre leads towards it."

See also Prof. Garstang's report on the work of the Department of Antiquities for Palestine, below, pp. 57–62.

Thanks to several friends, we are able to publish in this issue a photograph and an obituary notice of the late Mr. Morrison, well known to the world as a millionaire, and to the Fund as one of the original founders, a generous benefactor and for many years Treasurer. We have also to regret the death of Lord Bryce, O.M., of the General Committee, who took a warm interest in Palestine, and presided over the Fifty-sixth Annual General Meeting last June. We have also to record the loss of the Rev. Prof. John P. Peters, a well-known member of the General Committee, who died in New York on November 10th. He was excavator at Nippur, and wrote much on Biblical and archaeological research. He was part author of the *Tombs of Marissa*, and also contributed to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*. His is a serious loss to Biblical studies, and his pen will be much missed.

We are glad to be able to reprint portions of an interesting article in the *Expository Times*, by Prof. Macalister, on thirty years of excavation in Palestine, below, pp. 79–86. It is well that we should recall the great progress which has been made in this department of research; it is no less necessary that we should remember the extremely prominent part which this country has taken in it hitherto. With the death of Mr. Walter Morrison there disappears another of the last remaining links between the foundation of this Society and the present generation; and we cherish the hope that interest in Palestinian archaeology, so far from diminishing, will steadily grow, and that new friends will arise to take the place of those who have gone. Truly, there remains very much land to be possessed; and though much has already been accomplished, much

still remains to be done, to the end that fuller light may be cast upon the internal history of Palestine during those centuries which were so crucial for the history of humanity.

In the Hebrew daily *Haaretz* ("The Land") of January 26th, published at Jerusalem, Mr. Raffaeli writes upon Mr. Pilcher's note on "A Mother in Israel," published in the last issue. It may be added that in the Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, Dr. Albright interprets Judges v, 7, to mean that Deborah was originally the name of a town at the foot of Mt. Tabor, and that it was a "mother-city" in Israel. We are also indebted to Mr. Raffaeli for the description and photograph of an interesting bronze weight from Petra which is discussed below, p. 71 *sq.*

In the fourth bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Dr. Albright urges that "the ancient Ekron lay at Ḳaṭra instead of at 'Ākir, which preserves the name, but lies three miles to the north-west." There are no antiquities at the latter, whereas at the former place marble pillars, masses of Graeco-Roman pottery and an important tell point to the prominence of the site. He considers both Ḳaṭra and Esdūd (Ashdod) promising sites for excavation, especially Esdūd, which is easily accessible to the spade. He also suggests that Tell es-Ṣāfi is the site of the ancient Libnah, and that Gath is to be identified with 'Araḳ le-Menshīyeh, eight miles to the south-west. Der ed-Dibban is tentatively identified with Makkedah, and he endorses the identification of Tell Zakarīya with Socoh, made by Bliss. With all this keen interest in the Philistine district an article by the Rev. Segal in this issue may be commended to the notice of readers; it illustrates the interconnexion of archaeological and historical research.

The Hebrew Palestine Exploration Society, which was founded some time before the war, and which has its centre in Jerusalem, is continuing the excavation of Tiberias. Among the most important discoveries there is an ancient synagogue which is connected with Rabbi Meir (about second century A.D.), a carved marble seven-branched lamp, and several other objects which throw light upon Jewish arts and crafts in the Temple period and the arts and crafts during the first centuries of Christianity. This work is being carried out with the collaboration of the non-Jewish Archaeo-

logical Societies. The Society also aims at starting new excavations in Caesarea, Artuf and two localities in Jerusalem, for which concessions have been granted by the Government.

Some of our readers who are acquainted with Palestine and the surrounding lands may be glad to know of a way whereby they can co-operate in an organised study of Western influences on Near and Middle Eastern peoples. Prof. Arnold Toynbee, of the University of London, in a letter to the press points out that "the history of this influence during the last two or three centuries is one of the keys to present Oriental problems, and the intellectual and social sides are at least as important as the military, diplomatic and economic. There is an admirable field for such studies in the narratives of Western travellers, which, though often ransacked for curiosities of literature, seem never to have been surveyed systematically. But this field is so vast that no one inquiring into some particular subject can really cover it single-handed. Group work suggests itself, and I am trying to bring together at the Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, Bloomsbury, a group of people interested in the studies that I have mentioned. For this purpose I am proposing to exclude India and Russia, to concentrate on the peoples and countries that have at one time been included in the Ottoman Empire, and not to go further back to start with than about the last quarter of the 17th century. On these lines I have already made a start with several collaborators. At the Institute of Historical Research we have rooms, maps and works of reference and are conveniently near to the British Museum. If any of your readers wishes for further information, I should be glad if he or she would write to me at the Institute; I will only add that I am not asking for pupils but for collaborators, and that even those with little time to spare may give valuable help." Professor Toynbee's address is the Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street Bloomsbury, W.C. 1.

Miss L. Winchester, of Liverpool University, at the Annual Meeting of the Geographical Association on Friday, January 6th, "showed how greatly the rainfall varied from one part of Palestine to another, being on an average 16 inches per annum in the South as compared with 35 inches at Beyrouth. The heavy rains of winter are like what would be termed cloud-bursts in England. Thus, in Haifa 3 inches would fall in a day; in Jerusalem, Hebron and Jaffa,

4½ inches. In September, October and November gentle rain would fall for a day or two and cease. This gentle rain was all important for preparing the hard ground. Between the middle of December and the middle of March there was a period of hard rains. In March and April there fell the latter rains; these were essential for the welfare of the cereals. Without them the grain could not stand the heat of the summer. Miss Winchester expressed a conviction that there were in Palestine large stores of water in underground streams. She said that the English troops had found such waters in the desert between Egypt and Palestine, when they sank artesian wells. The future of Palestine depended on the storage of the winter rains."—(From the *Zionist Review*.)

A subject of the greatest importance for the future welfare of Palestine and for the understanding of past conditions is that of malaria in ancient and modern times. Malaria is present to a greater or less extent in all towns and large villages of Palestine, but is everywhere preventible. The Advisory Council of Jerusalem have taken the problem in hand, and from a memorandum on the Public Health Draft Ordinance, printed in *Palestine*, March 4th, we quote a couple of paragraphs.

"In many parts of Palestine the numerous remains of the Graeco-Roman period bear evidence of the populations that flourished there and of the care taken to maintain proper drainage of the land. The drainage was, however, subsequently allowed to fall into neglect, swamps formed and bred mosquitos which spread malaria, and the inhabitants became too sickly for hard work and allowed more of their irrigation channels to fall into disrepair, with a resulting increase of swamps, malaria, and sickness. Thus, in the lapse of centuries, large tracts of what might be fertile land have become malarious and uninhabited marshes.

"But these swamps can be reclaimed, malaria extirpated, healthy villages formed, and the land once more brought under intensive cultivation. The Anti-malarial Advisory Commission has already formulated and considered many schemes of reclamation, governmental as well as those put forward by communities, private individuals, land development companies, and other organizations. Several smaller schemes considered by the Commission have already been completed, notably at Jenin, where the Municipality, in conjunction with the Government and the Army, carried out the

work; at Khedera, where the colonists completed the drainage of the Gazazo Swamp; and in the Acre district, where the Musherifa dam was constructed, owing to the energies of the Sub-Governor and local people. On the recommendation of the Commission, clauses have been inserted in certain concessions of Government land, as, for example, that for the Zerka Swamp, to ensure the carrying out of the necessary measures for drainage and malaria prevention. Lack of funds has militated against the inception of the larger Government schemes, but work on the Beisan marshes has now been in progress for two years, and, already, for an expenditure of less than £E.3,000, some thousand acres of Government marsh land have been reclaimed for cultivation and a considerable diminution of malaria in the area for the past year has been recorded."

Subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund may be interested to hear that the Fund have acquired the remaining copies of *Jerusalem sous Terre*, written by Father Vincent, and published at the Office of the *Field* Newspaper. This work is profusely illustrated by plans and photographs, and giving as it does a full archaeological review of the excavations in the hill "Ophel," conducted by the Hon. Montague B. Parker, is essential to all those who make a scientific study of the Holy City. The Fund is disposing of these—of which there is only a limited stock—at 5*s.* per copy, or 6*s.* post free.

Subscribers will recollect that the map of the Negeb or Wilderness of Zin, which should have accompanied the 1914–15 Annual, had then to be withheld from publication owing to the War. The Committee are glad to announce that the map has now been prepared for the Fund by the War Office, and a copy will be supplied gratis to those Members desirous of procuring it to complete their record of the 1914 Survey. Applications should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary.

Photo-relief map of Palestine: This popular little map, which is reproduced by collotype process from the well-known raised maps, has been reprinted and is now on sale. It measures (with margin) 29 × 19 inches and contains some hundreds of Biblical names. The price to subscribers is 2*s.* 6*d.*, and to non-subscribers 3*s.*; postage 6*d.* extra.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, p. 53.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Annual Report for 1921, containing the list of subscriptions and accounts is in the press, and, if not ready for issue with this number, will be circulated to subscribers sometime before the Annual Meeting.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 4, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Elihu Grant, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Haverford College, Pa.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Near East: A weekly review of the politics and commerce of Egypt, Asia Minor, Arabia, Mesopotamia, etc. Dec. 12, Jan. 12 : Beersheba Sketches ; The Mystery of the Orient, by Edouard Driault ; Jan. 19, 26, March 23, etc. : The Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

The Expository Times, Jan. : The Long Ages of the Patriarchs, by E. E. Kellett, M.A. ; Joshua and the Miracle of the Sun, by Rev. G. P. Wallace, B.D. Feb. : The Theophany at Horeb, E. L. Allen, M.A.

The Irish Theological Quarterly.

Palestine.

The Zionist Review.

Art and Archaeology, Feb. : Russian Art Number.

American Journal of Archaeology, Oct.–Dec. 1921.

Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1919.

Jewish Quarterly Review, Jan. 1922.

The Homiletic Review.

Hebrew Christian Alliance Quarterly.

Revue Biblique, Jan. : La Région de Aïn Qedeis, by R. P. R. Savignac ; Notre Exploration à Naplouse, by R. P. F.-M. Abel ; l'Année Archéologique 1921 en Palestine, by R. P. L.-H. Vincent.

Journal Asiatique, xviii, 1, 2.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 1921.

Biblica, Vol. III, Part I.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung : Monatsschrift für die Wissenschaft vom ganzen Orient, 1921.

Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, Vol. II, No. 1 : The Tomb of Isaiah, by F.-M. Abel, O.P. ; Judicial Courts among the Bedouin of Palestine, by Omar el-Barghuthi, etc.

Bible Lands, Jan.

The Palestine Weekly, Dec. 16 : An Early Traveller in Palestine ; Jan. 27, A Night by the Dead Sea ; Feb. 3, The Damascus Gate ; Feb. 24, A Pious Pirate ; The Journey of Sigurd to Jerusalem, about 1110 A.D. ; March 3, The Jews of the Yemen.

Al-Mashrik, Feb. : Les Croisés et la Bibliothèque de Tripoli, by P. H. Lammens, S.J. ; La fameuse Inscription d'Abercius, by Abbé Joseph Eid ; March : La Pacification de la Syrie et la Défense de ses Frontières sous les Romains, by P. René Monterde, S.J.

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ, Oct.–Dec.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books :—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

Prof. Flinders Petrie's *Tell el-Hesy* (*Lachish*).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. I, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund ; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE LATE MR. WALTER MORRISON.

THE LATE Mr. WALTER MORRISON.

The late Mr. Walter Morrison, who was born 21st May, 1836, and died 18th December, 1921, had been educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford. He stroked the Balliol Boat in 1855 (the year that Warre joined him there from Eton), and in 1857 obtained a First Class in *Lit. Hum.* With both Colleges he preserved, as is well known, the closest association all his life. To have restored Provost Lupton's Grammar School at Giggleswick would by itself have been sufficient to merit the handing down to posterity of any ordinary benefactor.

At the age of 21 he came into possession of the Malham Tarn property—a wild stretch of moorland and rough pasture in the heart of the Craven district in West Yorkshire. Here he contrived to spend as much leisure as his many other interests allowed; and apart from the care of his own property, his influence in the neighbourhood can hardly be over-estimated. He was an original and enthusiastic member of the Volunteer Force, and was Honorary Colonel of the Second Volunteer Battalion of the West Riding Regiment.

When 25 years of age he was elected as Liberal M.P. for Plymouth, and held the seat from 1861 to 1874. At this time he resided in Devon and formed a close friendship with Charles Kingsley. He was "the Squire" in the *Water Babies.* Subsequently he represented the Skipton Division of Yorkshire as a Liberal Unionist from 1886 to 1892, and again from 1895 to 1900, when he gave up taking any active part in politics.

In 1862 he travelled extensively in Europe and the Near East, and ever afterwards cherished the keenest interest in all questions connected with the ancient history and modern development of Egypt and of Syria.

He was probably the last survivor of those who were present at the first preliminary meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund held in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster, 12th May, 1865, under Dean Stanley's auspices, and also at the subsequent public meeting at Willis's Rooms, 22nd June, the same year, when Archbishop Thomson of York presided, and the Palestine

Exploration Society was definitely founded. From that day to his death he was a member of its governing body. To the first number of the *Quarterly Statement* he contributed an interesting paper in 1869, on what he had witnessed at Baalbek in 1862.

He became Honorary Treasurer of the Fund in 1867, and untiringly held the office for over 50 years. In spite of multitudinous cares and business calls upon his time in Yorkshire and elsewhere, he yet managed ever to be a regular attendant at the Committees of the Fund held in London. At these, like Sir George Grove, our first Honorary Secretary, he frequently enlivened our discussions with humorous anecdotes of men and incidents that he had met with or known in his many-sided experience of life. There were naturally constant difficulties and embarrassments connected with the management of the Society's affairs as regards various persons and circumstances both at home and abroad; these he helped to guide and pull us through, but all was done quietly though firmly, and with consummate tact and commonsense. A kinder heart or more generous mind than were his it would be impossible to imagine.

His benefactions in countless directions were enormous, but they were all considered with elaborate care, while the same care was expended in making them as anonymous as possible. He had a rooted aversion to anything like self-advertisement. Among his acknowledged gifts, however, were three, each of £10,000 to the University of Oxford, in 1912; the first of these was towards a professorial pension fund, the second towards the endowment of a Readership in Egyptology, and the third for the Study of Agriculture. In July, 1920, he gave a further £50,000 to Bodley's Library. From time to time he helped other causes in Oxford with lesser sums, many of which went to further Archaeology.

His support of the British Museum's exploration of Carchemish is of particular interest to the Palestine Exploration Fund. He came to its aid unexpectedly of his own motion in 1912, after hearing two lectures about the work of the opening seasons, and realising that a promising enterprise was likely to be cut short. His method was simply to send an open cheque for £5,000 to Mr. D. G. Hogarth with a request that it be used for Carchemish, and also as a lever for prising an equivalent amount out of the Treasury—an operation which was successfully achieved. Two years later, when funds were again running low after great results had been obtained, Mr. Morrison once more came forward with

£10,000, and created a Trust Fund to be administered by himself, Sir Frederic Kenyon, and Mr. Hogarth. Most of this fund was still intact when war broke out. The balance was invested, and though drawn upon for Mr. Woolley's campaign at Carchemish in 1920, is still sufficient to secure a year or two's further work on the site, if and when the political situation in North Syria and Mesopotamia becomes more favourable.

To the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1911 he presented the freehold premises now occupied by us, No. 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square. The house and situation was chosen with much forethought. The Society had previously rented premises for its office and affairs in Hanover Square and afterwards in Conduit Street. But he recognized what a drawback these movements from time to time were for the adequate use and housing of our Library and Museum. Owing to his characteristic desire to remain anonymous, the gift was never announced in the *Quarterly Statement*, the only allusion to it being made by himself in his Treasurer's Statement of 1911, when he incidentally mentioned that the recurrent amount expended hitherto on rent would cease to appear, the Society being housed in its own premises.

Grato animo tantum beneficitum inter multa alia celebramus.

EIGHTEEN MONTHS' WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES FOR PALESTINE.

July, 1920—December, 1921.

By Professor John Garstang, D.Sc., B.Litt.

Organization.—Within a few days of the establishment of a Civil Government in Jerusalem in July, 1920, His Excellency the High Commissioner called for proposals from the Director of the British School of Archaeology with a view to the organization of a Department of Antiquities. In ten days this Department was created; shortly afterwards an Archaeological Advisory Board was constituted, and within a few weeks an Antiquities Ordinance was promulgated. The completed organization of the Department

includes as personnel, a Director with two chief technical Assistants, namely, a Keeper of Museums and a Chief Inspector.

The Keeper of Museums is responsible for all the public collections of movable antiquities. He is assisted by a numismatist and the office staff of the Department.

The Chief Inspector is responsible for all the immovable antiquities of Palestine. Under him are three Junior Inspectors. Their work is organized as far as possible district by district, with sufficient freedom to enable them to respond to calls in other areas. There are under his orders six guards stationed in the more important centres of antiquities — Tiberias, Athlit, Caesarea, Askalon, and Jerusalem, while a special guardian is detailed to the Museum, and another is proposed for Samaria.

Constitution.—The Advisory Archaeological Board, an important feature in the constitution of this Department, includes representatives of the various organizations engaged in archaeological work in Palestine on behalf of other countries or of local societies. The Director consults this body on all questions of general interest or on questions likely to involve opposing interests, also on matters of a technical character. The Board has met frequently, its recommendations and decisions have been in all cases unanimous, and have been invariably adopted by the Administration. The unity to which the Advisory Board has attained, while valuable in itself, is a real source of strength to the young Department.

The Antiquities Ordinance was based not only upon the collective advice of archaeological and legal specialists, but embodied the results of experience in neighbouring countries. Conferences with British, American and French experts have resulted in agreement being reached on points where divergent views were apparent, and when certain modifications indicated by these conferences and by experience have been introduced, the document should prove a really workable and acceptable instrument.

There is one principle which is paramount throughout its clauses—the monuments and antiquities of Palestine belong to Palestine and to Palestinians.

The second principle is—the encouragement offered to scientific workers. Permits to excavate will be issued only to scientific bodies, who guarantee the qualifications and equipment of the excavator. Under such conditions the Government will facilitate excavations in every possible way, and has reserved powers to share the fruits

of excavations with organizations undertaking such work, while safeguarding the interests of the national collection of Palestine.

The registration of historical sites and the inventories of dealers' stocks and private collections is involved in the operation of the new law. This task has been making progress, and provisional lists of historical sites and buildings with the names transliterated in the three official languages are now about to appear in the Official Gazette. Historical sites or buildings still in religious use are excluded from the ordinary application of the law, though special powers are provided to ensure their conservation and protection.

Museums.—The preservation of all movable antiquities in this country has involved the establishment of a Central Museum, a task which has been entrusted to Mr. Phythian-Adams. One hundred and twenty cases of antiquities which had lain hidden in the city during the war were recovered last year. Many of these had formed the nucleus of the local collection in other days, while others seem to have been the fruits of excavations made just previous to the war, and packed ready for transport to Constantinople. There was no catalogue, and the provenance of each object had to be studiously determined by reference to publications and by comparative methods. Mr. Phythian-Adams has surmounted these difficulties, with the result that more than 6,000 objects were catalogued and a proper inventory drawn up during the winter months.

The Museum in Jerusalem will receive the smaller, more delicate, and more valuable objects, and those antiquities of general historical interest. Here also will be formed the collection of material for advanced study. Objects of peculiar local interest, archaeological pieces and sculptures not of unusual merit, are to be cared for, as far as possible, in the localities in which they are found. Local Museums are being projected at various centres for this purpose: those of Askalon, Caesarea, and Acre are already accessible. Though every effort will be made to render these Museums self-supporting, they will still be under the authority of the Department, through the Keeper of Museums. In Jerusalem, objects of architectural character and larger sculptures will be grouped, if possible, within the Citadel, where rooms in the Hippicus Tower have been prepared by the Department for exhibition purposes. Another room in the Citadel will be adopted for display of Arab Art, and other sectional museums are contemplated.

The Museum in Jerusalem has already been enriched by the generosity of Miss Newton, of Haifa, who has deposited there the whole of her unique collection of Roman and Byzantine gold jewellery and ornaments. The numismatic section has also been greatly developed by the appointment of Dr. Raffaeli as Curator, his own collection being loaned and exhibited with that of the Government, which it greatly supplements.

Conservation.—Repairs have been executed to dangerous spots in the fabric of the Citadel and the City Walls of Jerusalem, through the Pro-Jerusalem Society, aided by subsidies from the Department.

At Acre, thanks to the initiative of the Deputy-District Governor, considerable progress has been made with clearing the débris from the crypts of the fine mediaeval building for which that place is famous. A Junior Inspector of the Department has been attached provisionally to that district.

At Ramleh the dangerous condition of the beautiful monument, known as the Crusaders' Tower or the Tower of the Forty Martyrs, has been considered, and it is hoped that in collaboration with the Public Works Department and the Waqf Authorities it will be possible to do what is necessary to safeguard the fabric and appearance of this monument.

At Ain Duk, near Jericho, the French Archaeological School (École Biblique de St. Étienne), under Père Vincent, have completed the clearance of the very ancient synagogue of that site, where, as a result of the war, certain portions of the mosaic floor had been disclosed. The necessary removal of mosaics for the preservation of the designs and inscriptions was skilfully performed by Mr. Mackay, then Chief Inspector of this Department.

Other works of conservation on a smaller scale have been initiated, notably at Jifna, Ramallah, Tiberias, and Caesarea. In all these cases the policy of this Department is to endeavour to interest the local authority and notables in the monuments of their own districts. This is not merely a method of husbanding the resources which the Government are able to allocate to the costs of conservation, necessary and desirable though that is; it is equally desirable that everyone should wake to a lively sense of the value of history, particularly in this country where the whole environment is historical, and there is no method so effective as

that of encouraging each and every one to take a proper share in the very special responsibilities which devolve upon all who dwell in this land of Palestine.

Excavation.—With the approval of this Department, the Palestine Exploration Fund has opened an extensive excavation at Askalon, where work was resumed in April, after having been suspended for the winter. The Great Cloister or colonnade with which Herod the Great adorned his birthplace has been identified and largely cleared. To this was subsequently added a Basilica, reconstructed later into the "building in the form of a theatre," which Antoninus Martyr described as enclosing a Well of Peace. The Well and statue of Peace have been recovered in the chorus of the theatre. Later again, a great Arab mosque covered the spot, and the Basilica became a Mihrab.

In the Acropolis of Askalon the traces of Philistine occupation are clear, and more important are the remains of the pre-Philistine inhabitants. Further research must show whether this appertained to the Caphtorim or to the Canaanites, or was implanted direct by pre-Philistine colonists from over sea.

At Tiberias the Palestine Jewish Exploration Society made last year a successful series of soundings, disclosing remains clearly to be identified with the period of the Talmud. The same Society under Dr. Slousch has continued excavations on the site examined last year, and has extended its investigations with a somewhat wider area in the vicinity of Tiberias. The model of a seven-branched candlestick in stone, conforming in detail of design with most ancient Jewish tradition, was among the objects recovered.

At Gethsemane, under special arrangements with this Department, the Franciscan Custody has completed the excavation of a very early church, probably of the fourth century, in which there may be traced three apses, the whole of the original outline, and various fragments of the original pavement. The Franciscan Custody has also recommenced excavations under Père Orfali in the interesting site of the Synagogue of Capernaum (Tell Hum), and laid bare a hexagonal court and ambulatory between the Synagogue and the Lake. The floor is paved with mosaics of interesting design.

The University Museum of Philadelphia has commenced work at Beisan under Dr. Fisher, with gratifying results. Dr. Fisher's work on this most important site is well planned and well organized.

He is taking off the mound layer by layer, disclosing a period of history at each step; he has also cut a stratigraphical section, which takes us back to pre-Egyptian days. An Egyptian monument discovered dates probably from the time of Rameses II., but the cartouches are difficult to decipher.

The site of Megiddo has been provisionally reserved for the University of Chicago, and that of Samaria for the University of Harvard.

Societies and Schools.—This outline of the year's work will not be complete without a reference to the activities of the various archaeological societies, the centre of whose work is in Jerusalem. The old established French School (the École Biblique de St. Étienne) and the long established American School of Oriental Studies have resumed and continued their labours unremittingly; their own publications speak for themselves. Particularly important are the Studies of the Site and Monuments in Jerusalem by Pères Vincent and Abel, and a study on the Mosque of Hebron in which Mr. MacKay of the Department has co-operated. Dr. Albright, Head of the American School, has given a brief account of the very important topographical and other researches in which he has been engaged. The American School also attracted to Jerusalem last year two distinguished colleagues, Dr. Peters and Professor Clay, and we were privileged also to have in our midst for a short time Professor Breasted, of the University of Chicago. Their visits were appreciated and will be remembered by all in Jerusalem.

The founding of the Palestine Oriental Society, a new feature of intellectual life in Jerusalem, comes also within the year under review. It is the common ground of all the different societies, archaeologists and students of the Near East. The opportunity before this Society in the future will be great.

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip J. Baldensperger.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1922, *p.* 32.)

Arab Life.[1]

In dealing with Arab life we have not to take into consideration the third son of Islam, the traditional Abu Osman, the (Turkish) horseman, and father of the Ottoman Turks. The Turks, even when they were masters of the land, were only found as functionaries in towns, or as soldiers in garrisons, with the exception of some camps of Turkomans. They do not enter into any comparative study of the ancient and modern inhabitants of Palestine, by whom they were looked upon as foreigners, owing to their speaking a different language. Turks very seldom learnt the Arabic language, and only those Arabs who in modern days served in Turkish towns picked up a few Turkish sentences; such Arabs were generally in Arab regiments and had only Turkish officers. But the nomads never learnt Turkish, and did not care to come into contact with their nominal lords.

The fourth son of Islam is Abu Suclem (ابو سويلم), who chose a camel from his father's goods and became father of the camel-owning Bedus or Bedawin, as they are generally though wrongly called. The singular Bedawy becomes *'Arab* (عرب) or *Badu* (بدو) in the plural; whereas *'Arabi* (عربي) in the singular means an Arabic-speaking man, and *el-'Arab* means the nomads and Arabs generally (*awlad 'Arab*, sons of Arabs). The desert is called *el-Bādiy* (البادية), whence the name of the Bedawy who lives there. The distinction between nomads or tent-living

[1] [The reader is reminded that these sketches were written before the Great War.—Ed.]

people and Arabs is found in the Bible, for when the Israelites left Egypt "a mixed multitude (*'ērebh*) went up also with them and flocks and herds, even very much cattle" (Ex. xii, 38). This mixed multitude was presumably none other than the nomads with their tents and cattle; the nomads near towns always have cattle, even up to our days. The pure desert tribes, such as the 'Anazeh, who possess more camels and horses, cannot in many respects be classed with the agricultural and half-sedentary cattle-rearing nomads roaming about between Gaza and Jaffa.

Solomon had relations with the inhabitants of Arabia; we recall especially the visit of the Arabian queen of Sheba, who came with a very great company and camels that bare spices (1 Kings x, 2). The nomads are being pushed back into their deserts year by year, especially as the railways advance into their regions, and the two lines Cairo—Jerusalem and Constantinople—Bagdad (and the projected railway to Mecca) will in time doubtless drive away those who do not submit to the progressive advance of civilization into their native home, Arabia. Hence the study of the pure nomad tribes will always be of very great interest, inasmuch as we may hope to find among them customs which undoubtedly existed before the Israelites crossed the Jordan or even before the Hebrews came from Mesopotamia.

The nomads, or rather the *Bedu*—for the gipsies are also nomads, but are not called "Arab"—are an essentially military caste, and, as the real heirs of Ishmael, are "wild men whose hand is against every man, and dwell before all their brethren" (Gen. xvi, 12). They lived in this semi-independent state for untold centuries; occasionally they have submitted to treaties in their own interests or to the political and religious changes of Palestine. They have been worshippers of Baal and Ashtoreth with the Canaanites, Jews with the Israelites, and Moslems with the Saracens, the nearest of their kinsmen. They have even been Christians with the Crusaders, but generally only to rob or receive the price of their services from the stronger party. As in feudal Europe the nomads have had, to some extent, their serfs among the fellahin who come to their regions to plough, sow, and harvest, and give the lazy owners one-third of the income. The fellahin, who are respected by them only as long as they are in their villages, and have not yet advanced any money to them, are practically ill-treated when they live in their wild districts. The fellahin women are neither treated with

honour, nor in the *'ard* (عرد), about which Moslems are so proud, strictly followed, when they are away from supervision. For what have they to fear from the fellahin in their homes? And if their impudence becomes intolerable, they simply avoid the hostile villages and go to another region until the wrath of the fellahin abates.

Tribes of less noble blood, who perhaps have always lived in Judaea, have emancipated themselves from other oppressors and become nomads themselves. This has undoubtedly happened recently, if we may judge from the headdress and ordinary clothing which, in the case of the men at least, differs in no respects from that of the fellahin. Among these are the Ta'amry, originally from the now ruined Beth-Ta'mar, near the Furdeis, and the Satrakhry, from the equally ruined Beth-Sakhur, to the right of the Wady er-Rababy below Siloam. These tribes, though they call themselves Arab, are agricultural nomads, and are best known in the markets of Jerusalem and Bethlehem for the early cucumbers (*fuḳūs*) which they grow in the warm regions in the spring and sell at cheap prices. Though now very harmless, some fifty years ago they were the terror of all villages bordering on the Judaean desert, and they were even known to remain a year away from their homes, inviting themselves to the houses of the fellahin with their club as introduction, and staying a few days at every house and asking for whatever food they required. The men of Urtas were generally called upon to contribute honey which they had from the hives in the old walled camp at Solomon's pools. When my father first tried to settle in Urtas in 1848 the villagers who had deserted the village for fear of the Ta'amry marvelled at his courage in living alone in the dreary valley. There were always feuds with small detachments of troops, and they were so audacious as to kill the officials in the plain of Rephaim, the *baḳa*, before Jerusalem.

The fatal blow was given them only by the capture of the much-feared Sheikh Safi ej-Jēr in 1865, when the Pasha of Jerusalem at the head of a battalion of soldiers got the better of him in Bethlehem. The unfortunate sheikh rallied the Pasha, saying: "You are not ashamed to come against a single man on foot with 800 men! Had I my mare Khamame, you and all Jerusalem would not have captured me." During the cholera epidemic of 1866 he was imprisoned in Jerusalem, and, as the garrison had left the town for Neby Samuel, he mastered the jailor, and with chains on his hands and feet walked through the streets of Jerusalem, and

succeeded in releasing a dozen sheikhs. He himself was easily captured again and sent to Accho, where he died two years later by a poisoned cup of coffee.

Since then the Ta'amry have been greatly reduced, their only privilege being that they escape conscription, as do all who live in tents. They have to pay the government contributions in the shape of salt from the Dead Sea, which is a monopoly. Nevertheless they are the real providers of salt (smugglers) for all villagers south of Jerusalem. Up to the line immediately south of Bethlehem—Urtas—Wady el-Biar they had nothing to fear from the custom officials, but when they crossed the line they often had fierce contests, for the officials, warned by some enemy of the approach of a caravan or *kaffel* (كفل) of salt, waited for them in a place where they must pass, and where escape was almost impossible. Everyone who has lived on the borders of civilization and the wilderness knows how difficult it often is to keep on good terms with both parties, who are friends or foes as the case may be. In Urtas it was our fate to receive more than once the visits of both parties, and how difficult it was to keep strictly neutral in such cases can hardly be put into words.

The wilder tribes of the Rasheidy, Ra'abny and Jehalīn live in the south; the above-named Ta'amry at Sawahry are now very quiet half-Bedu, who bury their dead about Rachel's tomb, perhaps an indication of their direct descent from Judaism. The Philistine tribes bury their dead about the White Mosque in Ramleh. The wild Buffalo tribes, so called from the droves of buffalo which they rear about the Aujeh river, north of Jaffa, are known as *Jamasse(t)* (جماسة). They are almost without religious customs, though they sometimes fast and pray. A Satary (صطري) Bedawy camping about Rubine told me that they were even worse than gipsies, being both thieves and without religion. They wear long hair, especially front locks, and this gives them a buffalo-like appearance. Probably they are from the Euphrates Arabs, and perhaps they even introduced the buffalo from India.

The Arabs formerly had slaves like the Fellahin and Medaniyeh; but since the emancipation, in 1878, the negroes went to join either their compatriots in Jaffa, or the Negro-Bedu, who are found north of Jericho about 'Ain Dūk, and who existed long before the last emancipation. These are known as slaves, *'abīd*; but the name of

the negroes is really *Sūdān* (سودان), *i.e.*, black (*aswad*). These negroes bring the early vegetables to the Jerusalem market from the warm plain when Jerusalem is still clad in its winter clothing. All the above are agricultural Bedu; they escape conscription.

The *Wehedat* in Philistia, to mention only the chief tribe, together with a number of minor allied tribes, and the *'Adwān* in the Jordan Valley, own the lands where they live and roam. They do not plough or harvest themselves, but they share the grain after the harvest. They furnish the fellahin with land and protection—of a kind; and the fellah, who has to plough and sow, furnishes the seed and receives two-thirds of the harvest for his trouble, the Bedawy lord retaining one-third.

The 'Adwān live principally between the Dead Sea and Salt, in winter in the plain and in summer in the mountains of Moab, under their Sheikh 'Ali eth-Thiab. They were a very wild tribe. In 1874 'Ali had about 300 mares which he lent to the Arabs, furnishing them at the same time with full equipment, that is, a lance, a sword, and the saddle. In return the Bedawy had to follow him in his expeditions, swearing allegiance and recognizing his supremacy. They would share the spoil after a successful raid. 'Ali himself died somewhere in 1895, and was buried with his fathers.

Continual roaming has made the Bedawy in general very careless about his religious observances, and it is only those who live near towns who come into constant contact with men of more religious scruples which makes them religious too. They naturally prefer independence to all the comforts which a more sedentary life might afford them; but with comfort come obligations and fetters the Bedawy will not bear. If he has a mare and a spear he finds friends everywhere, and turns up impudently and asks for food. Hence the proverb "Never show a Bedawy the door of your house." He is always found in the rear of the armies, helping against the enemy if that army seems about to be victorious, or robbing it if the contrary proves true. They are the mixed multitude who left Egypt in the rear of the Israelites (Ex. xii, 38), and the Midianites followed them later, always ready for either eventuality.

(*To be continued.*)

NEW TRACES OF THE OLD LEBANON FOREST.

By Asad Rustum, M.A.

In the course of his work in Syria, 1860–61, Ernest Renan came across a number of Latin inscriptions scattered up and down the hills of the Kasrawan district of Mount Lebanon, in between Tula and Tanmurin on the north and Smar Jbail and Afka on the south.[1] Some of these inscriptions consist of nothing more than the name of Hadrian and his two titles—IMP HAD AUG. The IMP and H are almost always combined in the usual way, possibly to save space and labour. Other inscriptions in the same zone have the words ARBORUM GENERA IV CETERA PRIVATA added; while others still have the letters DFS.[2]

The attempts at the interpretation of these inscriptions have been plentiful, almost as many as the inscriptions themselves. The Lebanon "fallah" still thinks that these signs on the rocks are nothing less than directions for the location of hidden treasures. He has therefore been, and still is, suspicious of the travelling student and antiquarian; so much so, that he has often denied any knowledge of them when he really knew the places where they were found. I have had to get over this suspicious attitude of the peasant more than once whenever I wanted to know local traditions. I have often began my inquiry with a statement of surprise at the archæological insignificance of the peasant's home, as contrasted with that of a neighbouring village, and in this way have succeeded in getting around his suspicion. In this particular connection it might be well to state that education is certainly doing its part in making at least one kind of material accessible to the archæologist.

[1] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p 258.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 261, 268.

Until recently, it used to be always the feeling of some that a number of these inscriptions were nothing more than the "Carte de Visite" of the Emperor. Hadrian was a well known traveller, and the IMP HAD AUG was nothing more than a souvenir of his visit to Mount Lebanon. Renan himself shared these views with a number of others, and gave expression to them in his famous work on Phoenicia.[1]

Père Martinus, of the Jesuit University of Beirut, thought the DFS, that appears in more than one of these inscriptions, stood for D(eae) F(ecit) S(acrum).[2] Sections of the forest were, by order of the Emperor Hadrian, made sacred to the goddess he was so fond of—Venus. The inscription of the Wadi Kur with its ARBORUM GENERA IV CETERA PRIVATA nicely fitted in with this interpretation, and Martinus thought he had hit upon the correct theory. When, however, a new inscription was found that read very fully IMP HAD AUG DEFINITIO SILVARUM, the Martinus Theory was discarded and a new one had to take its place.[3]

In his *Bell. Civ.*, Caesar says that Pompey made a fleet out of the Lebanon wood to fight the corsairs,[4] and Vegèce, in his book, refers to the four kinds of trees in the Lebanon that were good for ship construction.[5] If we add to this information the two kinds of inscriptions we have had occasion to mention before, namely, ARBORUM GENERA IV CETERA PRIVATA and DEFINITIO SILVARUM, we would have right to make at least three inferences: (1) Part of the Lebanon was covered with trees in Roman times; (2) Four kinds of trees were reserved for the Government; (3) Possibly, these four kinds of trees were the same as those mentioned in Vegèce. I do not think we can go as far as Père Lammens, of the Jesuit School in Beirut, would want to take us, in affirming positively that the Roman Government reserved the same four kinds of trees mentioned in Vegèce.[6]

In the course of my walks, last summer, I came across four new inscriptions that have never been published before, in so far as

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 280.

[2] Lammens, *Tasrīḥ ul-Absār*, vol. I, p. 33.

[3] This inscription was found by Dr. William Jessup. It is now preserved in the Museum of the American University of Beirut.

[4] Caesar, *Bell. Civ.*, III.

[5] Vegèce, V, 4,

[6] Lammens, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 33.

I know. They all belong to the same category as the ones mentioned above, but at the same time have a special value in themselves, in so far as they add to our information regarding this old forest.

The first of these inscriptions I found on a big rock at Ḳana Bakîsh, near the summit of Mount Sannîn of the Lebanon Range. It is made up of twelve letters, whose height is everywhere between 18 and 22 cm. It reads as follows: IMP HAD AUG DFS, *i.e.*, IMP(eratoris) HAD(riani) AUG(usti) D(efinitio) S(ilvarum). In its meaning, in the way it is written, and in the general shape of the letters, it is very much like other inscriptions at Wadi Tannurin and Kartaba; but in its elevation above the sea level—some 7,000 feet—and in its proximity to the summit of the mountain it is, in so far as I know, unique.

I was able to find two other inscriptions close by the one already mentioned: one is in the bottom of the valley down below the Sannîn River, and is nothing more than the name of Hadrian and his two titles; while the other is very near the village of Shwair, and is made up of the same name and titles.

At 'Ain ul-Ḳabu, near Baskinta, I discovered a fourth inscription reading as follows:—

IMP HAD

N II

AUG

IMP(eratoris) HAD(riani) AUG(usti) N. II. The number at the end may possibly have stood for a similar number cut on the trunks of the trees themselves, pointing out the ones that were to be cut down. It cannot possibly be the number of the inscription with which it is associated, in the sense that the boundary stones of the old forest were all numbered, for the simple reason that inscriptions that are very near to one another have very divergent numbers, when others that are miles and miles away happen to have the same number.[1]

These four inscriptions have another value in themselves. Together with others found near Majdel—midway between Shwair and Zaḥlah—they show that the forest, in Roman times, was at

[1] *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*, Beyrouth, IV, pp. 209-215.

least twice as big as the one indicated by Renan's inscriptions.[1] Its southern limit is no longer Afka but 'Ain ul-Ḳabu, Shwair and Majdel. I have heard of other inscriptions further south, but have not been able to visit them.

[Mr. Rustum sends with the above a photograph of the first of the above inscriptions and a map indicating the new limit of the forests. Renan's line runs from a point midway between the two Tannurins, W.N.W. to a point south of Batrun, and from the former point almost due south to Afka. The new line runs from the last mentioned south-west to Majdel, and then north-west towards Mar Elias.—Ed.]

BRONZE WEIGHT FROM PETRA.

By E. J. Pilcher.

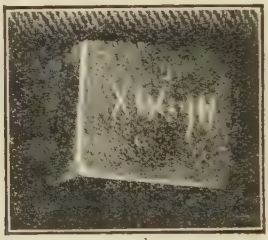
Petra is a city whose history cannot be traced before the Nabataean period, although it has been well said that a site with such natural advantages must surely have been inhabited from very ancient times. The Nabataeans themselves are first heard of in 312 B.C., when they successfully resisted the attacks of the Greek Atheneus, the general of Antigonus (*Diod. Sic.*, XIX, 94–100).

Some scholars are inclined to the opinion that Petra is mentioned in sundry passages of the Old Testament under the name of *Sela'* (סלע), which properly means "cliff" or "crag"; but it is extremely doubtful whether *Sela'* is intended to be read as a proper name in any of these places (see *Encyc. Biblica*, vol. IV, col. 4344); not to mention that the context is usually against any geographical association with Arabia Petraea. As a consequence, we cannot assume that we have any real clue to the Semitic, or original, name of the city.

[1] Renan, for some reason, did not succeed in seeing any of the Majdel group, although he had read about them. See Renan, p. 278; Guys, *Relation d'un séjour de plusieurs années à Beyrouth et dans le Liban*, II, p. 19. For a full description of this Majdel group, see *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*, Beyrouth, III, 2, pp. 549–551.

The most striking relics of Petra are its tombs, hewn in the rock with vast labour and expense. By their architecture, these tombs are obviously of the Graeco-Roman period; and some may be as late as the seventh century. The inscriptions in these tombs are numerous, the more ancient being in a dialect of Aramaic, written in a debased form of the Aramaic script, and dated in the first two centuries of the Christian Era.

This being the case, it is extremely interesting to report that a small object has recently turned up of a much earlier age. It is an oblong bronze weight, measuring one inch by three quarters, and weighing 700 grains, Troy. It was found in the débris of a sepulchral cave in the vicinity of Petra, together with fragments of pottery; and is now in the possession of Mr. Samuel Raffaeli,



the Conservator of Coins in the Museum at Jerusalem. Evidently this cave was a tomb considerably more ancient than the Graeco-Roman monuments so plentiful at Petra; and comparable with the old interments met with by excavators in Palestine. It is to be regretted that we have no particulars of the pottery.

The weight is inscribed חמישת, *Hamesheth*, in exactly the same characters as are employed upon the Nerab monuments which are ascribed by Prof. Clermont-Ganneau to the early part of the 6th century B.C.[1] Thus it is three hundred years earlier than our first historical notice of the Nabataean kingdom. A weight of the same square oblong form with two Old Hebrew inscriptions was acquired by Prof. Geo. A. Barton at Jerusalem in 1902.[2] *Hamesheth* is the Semitic feminine form of the numeral "five";

[1] See G. A. Cooke, *A Text-book of North Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), pp. 186–191, and Plates V, VI, and XIII. Mr. Raffaeli makes the same comparison.

[2] *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven, Conn., 1903), vol. XXIV, p. 384.

and, therefore, in this case it denotes some standard weight of about 140 grains. That can be nothing else than the well-known Egyptian *kedet*, which varies in different specimens from 136 to 156 grains, giving a mean of 146. The geographical position of Petra explains at once why an Egyptian standard was employed; for Petra commanded the road from Egypt to Damascus. It was also the place where the track to Gaza branched off from that to Bostra; and from it there ran another caravan route through the desert to the head of the Persian Gulf. From all these considerations we are justified in recognizing in this new weight an evidence of the early importance of the site of Petra, which even in the sixth century B.C. must have been the centre of a considerable commerce between Egypt, Syria, and Arabia.

[To Mr. Pilcher's account of Mr. Raffaeli's most interesting weight it may be added that it is palaeographically earlier than the Aramaic inscriptions from Teima in the well-known oasis in North Arabia (el-Hijaz). Here, as we know, was a halting-place of caravans, and it is a very noteworthy circumstance that on the Tema stele the figures of the god Salm and his priest are represented in Assyrian fashion, while the priest who officiates is the son of a man with an Egyptian name. The fact that influences of different origin are found both at Petra and Teima is of further interest, in that we may assume that at still earlier periods these districts would be no less susceptible to diverse influences. This is of considerable importance for the question of the sort of culture that prevailed in Edom and Midian in the Mosaic age. In a letter to the Fund, Mr. Raffaeli, in the course of a description of the weight, remarks that the weight has disclosed the writing of the Edomites, and he points out the interesting fact that the Talmud (*Abodah Zarah*, 10 *b*) on Obadiah *v.* 2 refers the words, "Behold I have made thee small among the nations," to "Edom who had neither writing nor a language of their own."—Ed.]

DAVID'S WAR AGAINST THE PHILISTINES.

By the Rev. M. H. Segal, M.A.

The events of the great War which David waged against the Philistines in the early years of his reign are recorded in a number of fragmentary notices in various parts of the Second Book of Samuel. The passages are as follows: 2 Sam. v, 17–21; v, 22–25; viii, 1; xxi, 15–17; 18; 19; 20–21; xxiii, 9–10; 11–12; 13–17. At first sight these passages seem to be disconnected, and to deal with isolated events. But a closer examination of their contents and their topography reveals the fact that the passages can be arranged in three groups, dealing with three distinct sets of events. This leads to the conclusion that the Philistine War had three stages: 1. The first invasion of Judah by the Philistines, resulting in their defeat at Baal Perazim. 2. The second invasion of Judah by the Philistines, resulting in their defeat at Gob. 3. Finally, David's invasion of Philistia, which concluded with the battle of Gath, and the permanent subjugation of the Philistines to Judah.

1. The first group of passages consists of v, 17–21, and xxiii, 13–17. David had just been anointed king over all Israel. The Philistines, fearing a revival of Israelitish power, came up into Judah "to seek out David." Unable to maintain his position in the mountains of Hebron, David went down to the low-lying Fastness (המצודה, v, 17). The name of this *mĕṣūdah* to which David retreated is not given in this passage. It cannot be identical with the *mĕṣūdath Zion* mentioned above (v, 7, 9), for, as the expression "go up" in *v.* 19 shows, this *mĕṣūdah* was lower than the Vale of Rephaim. No doubt modern scholars are right in identifying this *mĕṣūdah* with the *mĕṣūdah* mentioned in our second passage of this group, which was situated at Adullam below in the Philistine borderland (xxiii, 13, 14. *Cp.* also 1 Sam. xxii, 1, 4, 5, with Driver's notes to all these passages in his second edition [1913]. *See* further the writer's note on 1 Sam. xxii, 1, in his "Studies in the Books of Samuel" in the *Jew. Quar. Rev.*, x, 218 [Philadelphia, 1919]). Thereupon the Philistines invaded the country in great force (v, 18)

and penetrated as far as the Vale of Rephaim, probably in order to prevent the arrival of reinforcements from the Israelitish tribes north of Jerusalem. The Philistines held the country firmly, and while their main body was encamped in Rephaim, they also placed a garrison at Bethlehem (xxiii, 13*b*, 14*b*). Unable to meet the Philistines in open battle, David at first resorted to guerilla warfare. While he himself harassed the enemy from his retreat at Adullam, and threatened their communications with their home-base in Philistia, David's chief warriors carried on skirmishes in the mountains. This seems to be the implication of xxiii, 13*a*, which speaks of a visit of David's Three Champions, who "descended and came to David to the Cave of Adullam." This was the occasion of the exploit of the Three Champions at the Well of the Gate of Bethlehem (xxiii, 15–17). Eventually David felt strong enough to ascend from Adullam and attack the enemy's main camp in Rephaim. I have conjectured elsewhere (*ibid.*, *Jew. Quar. Rev.*, v, 210) that David was helped in this battle by a tempest and downpour of rain, and that we should read in v, 20, "when the waters broke forth" (בפרץ for כפרץ). If so, we may have an allusion to this victory in David's Song of Triumph (2 Sam. xxii, 14–18. *Cf.* also Judges v, 4, 20–21). This battle of Baal Perazim resulted in a complete victory for David, and thus ended the first stage of the Philistine War (v, 19–21).

2. The second group of passages, dealing with the second stage of the War, is found in v, 22–25; xxi, 15–17, 18, 19; xxiii, 9–10, 11–12. Judging by the larger number of passages in this group, the second Philistine campaign must have been of a much more formidable character than the first campaign. The Philistines seem to have made now a great effort to recover their lost supremacy. As in the first campaign, they again invaded the territory of Judah, and occupied the Vale of Rephaim, presumably in order to cut off David from his northern subjects (v, 22). And, as before, David again retreated from the mountains to the low-lying borderland. But this time he established his headquarters at a place called Gob, and not at Adullam (xxi, 16, reading "and they dwelt in Gob," for Ishbi-benob *see* Wellhausen in Driver, *ad loc.*). We do not know the position of Gob, but judging from the position of the other localities mentioned in this campaign, Gob must have been situated north-west of Adullam, in the neighbourhood of the Vale of Elah, or, perhaps, still further north in the borderland of

the old Danite territory. It may be that David moved further north, because he was now relying on help from the other tribes. This is supported by the use of the name of Israel in the passages connected with this second campaign (xxi, 15, 17 ; xxiii, 9). The Philistines seem to have made desperate efforts to capture Gob. We have records of at least three different battles fought at Gob. In the first of these, David himself was attacked by a Philistine champion, whose name is probably concealed in the corrupt: "and David waxed faint" (ויעף דוד ; xxi, 15 ; *see* Wellhausen in Driver, *ad loc.*), and was only saved from death by the prowess of Abishai. The other two battles at Gob were also marked by the great exploits in single combat of David's warriors against Philistine champions (xxiii, 15–19).

Other fights in this campaign took place at *Pas Dammim* (פס דמים, as in 1 Chr. xi, 13, for the corrupt בחרפם in 2 Sam. xxiii, 9; *see* Driver, *ad loc.*), which is identical with *Ephes Dammim*, situated in the Philistine-Judean borderland between Socoh and Azekah, and is mentioned in the story of David's combat with the Philistine champion in the Vale of Elah (1 Sam. xvii, 1); and at *Lehi* (so read in xxiii, 11; *see* Driver, *ad loc.*), which was also situated in the Philistine-Judean borderland, and had become famous by one of Samson's exploits (Judges xv, 9, *sqq.*). These fights went first against the Israelites. But the situation was saved by the prowess and skill of David's champions. Thus David succeeded in maintaining his position in the borderland. However, the main force of the Philistine was still in his territory in Rephaim. When at last David felt strong enough to attack the enemy's camp in Rephaim, he was enjoined by the Oracle not to risk a frontal attack on the enemy who was encamped on higher ground (v, 23, reading, "Thou shalt not go up *against them*," as in LXX), but to take the enemy in the rear. Evidently David was to climb up from Gob into the mountains above Rephaim, and from this higher ground attack the Philistines in the rear. The attack proved successful. The Philistines retreated towards their border, probably in a westerly direction towards Gath. At Gob, however, which was strongly held by David, their retreat was stopped, and the beaten enemy had to turn in a northerly direction towards Gezer, in order, presumably, to get to Ekron. In this new line of retreat the Philistines suffered such a crushing defeat that their power was broken for ever, and they were never again able to

invade Israelitish territory. This final defeat is recorded in v, 25*b*. The Massoretic reading, "from Geba" (מגבע), as well as the "Gibeon" of the LXX and 1 Chr. xiv, 16, are both impossible on geographical grounds (*cf.* Driver, *ad loc.*), and I propose to read "from Gob" (מִגֹּב), as in xxi, 18 (*cf. vv.* 16, 19)—the ע of the Massoretic מגבע is a dittography of the first letter in the following עד. The verse will then read, "He smote the Philistines from *Gob* until thou comest unto Gezer."

This great victory at Gob relieved David of any fear of further attacks from the Philistines, and left him free to turn his energies to the consolidation of his kingdom. The first step in that direction was the capture of the Jebusite stronghold, which he rebuilt as his new capital (v, 6–9). By this achievement David both removed the strong barrier which had separated Judah from the other tribes, and also secured for himself a capital which was at once safer and more convenient than Hebron. That the capture of Jerusalem did not precede the Philistine War, as would appear from our present text of 2 Sam. v, is quite evident. We are told distinctly that the Philistines came up to seek out David, as soon as they had heard of his anointment as king over all Israel (v, 17). This is exactly what we should have expected from such a vigilant and active foe as the Philistines. They would not have delayed their attack until David had captured such a stronghold as Zion, and effected a junction with the northern tribes. Nor would they in that case have needed "to seek out David" (לְבַקֵּשׁ, v, 17). They would have known where to find him, viz., at Zion. Further, if David had already been in possession of Jerusalem he would not have retreated to Adullam. These reasons also hold good against the assumption that the capture of Jerusalem took place before the second Philistine campaign.

I may be permitted here to withdraw the view I expressed elsewhere (*J. Q. R.*, vol. IX, p. 46), which is also held by some other writers (*e.g.*, Macalister, *The Philistines*, p. 58), that the capture of Jerusalem is to be assigned to the interval between the first and second campaign against the Philistines, viz., between v, 17–21, and v, 22–25. The words "thou shalt not go up" in v, 23, prove conclusively that in the second campaign also David was not in Jerusalem, but in a locality that was situated lower than the Vale of Rephaim, namely, at some place, say Gob, which, like Adullam,

was situated below somewhere in the Philistine borderland. Further, it is not likely that David would have possessed the strength to besiege Jerusalem while still engaged in the life and death struggle against the Philistines.

3. The capture of Jerusalem was followed by a series of events which further tended to strengthen and consolidate David's rule over Israel. These were the embassy of Hiram, himself probably also an enemy of the maritime Philistines, the erection of David's residence and the enlargement of his harem (v, 10–16), the establishment of the Ark in Jerusalem (ch. vi), and the prophecy of Nathan (ch. vii), and perhaps also the coming of Mephibosheth to Jerusalem (ch. ix), the Famine (xxi, 1-14), and the military census (ch. xxiv). Then came the third and final stage of the Philistine War. Secure against enemies from within and against invasion from without, David set out on that policy of expansion and aggression which characterized the middle period of his reign, and which is described in ch. viii. The first step in this new policy was the subjugation of the Philistines. This is recorded in the third and last group of our passages, viz., viii, 1, and xxi, 20–21.

It is evident that the battle of Gath, the principal city in Philistia (1 Sam. xxvii, 5, &c.), which is mentioned in xxi, 20, must have taken place subsequent to all the fighting in Israelitish territory recorded in v, 17–25; xxiii, 9–16; xxi, 15–19. For the invasion of Gath by the Israelites could only have been rendered possible by a great weakening of the Philistine power and by a corresponding rise in the power of David, now the aggressor, such as must have resulted from the first two campaigns which we described above. Hence we may safely conclude that the battle of Gath, mentioned in xxi, 20, is identical with the war of aggression which is recorded in viii, 1, and which resulted in the permanent subjugation of the Philistines to Judah (viii, 1, "and he subdued them"). We thus see that the paraphrase, "Gath and her villages," which 1 Chr. xviii, 1, gives for the difficult Metheg-ammah in 2 Sam. viii, 1 (*cf.* LXX and Driver, *ad loc.*), is based on a true recollection of the fact that David's victory at the battle of Gath formed the final conclusion to his great war against the Philistines.

THIRTY YEARS OF PALESTINE EXPLORATION.

Under the above title Prof. R. A. S. Macalister contributes to *The Expository Times* for November a most interesting article, from which we are kindly permitted to quote. The former Director of Excavations in Palestine is also the author of the chapter on "Exploration and Excavation" in the forthcoming *Cambridge Ancient History*. What he has to say in *The Expository Times* is not entirely new to regular readers of the *Quarterly Statement*, but his treatment is so lucid and concise that we are glad to be able to print the following extracts, referring them thither for the complete story:—

"Just thirty years ago there was published a brochure of modest appearance, bound in cardboard, containing 62 pages and 10 plates, and bearing the simple title *Tell el Hesy* (*Lachish*), by W. M. Flinders Petrie. This little work, of which it is now extremely difficult to obtain a copy, was nothing less than the foundation-stone of a new science . . . .

"Petrie's excavation of Tell el-Hesy was . . . . the first conducted on modern scientific lines. In previous excavations the directors were not aware of the immense importance of the 'unconsidered trifles' that an ancient site contains. Large buildings and, especially, written documents were their objective; and their work was, if not actually, at any rate unconsciously, subservient to the definite aim of finding answers to the many questions regarding the nature and authenticity of the Biblical texts, which were being asked with more and more insistence from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. It is not too much to say that the excavator who works with any *arrière-pensée*, however honourable it may be, courts disaster. His sole aim must be to find what is in his site, and then to see what legitimate deductions can be drawn from what he uncovers.

"Petrie was the first to attach especial importance to the most seemingly insignificant finds—the chips of broken pottery, lying in profusion on the surface of the earth, or scattered through the buried strata. To his expert eye these fragments told a tale to which his predecessors had been blind and deaf. As a result of his six weeks' exploration, the science of Palestinian ceramics was

established on a sound basis, and a powerful new instrument was put into the hands of excavators to enable them to date their sites. It was proved that every age had its own special style of pottery, distinguished by ware, shape, ornamentation, and manner of baking; and that, therefore, when a site or a stratum contained pottery of a certain kind, its date was fixed as absolutely as though a stone inscribed with the name of a historical monarch had been found there . . . .

"Tell el-Hesy . . . . had been occupied for a long time, and had had its share of misfortunes, all marked in one way or another by traces left in its débris. Beds of ashes were a permanent record of conflagrations, and gave a chronological fulcrum—for everything under the bed must necessarily be older than the catastrophe, everything above it must be later. A river had scarped the side of the mound, so that the edges of all the strata were exposed; it was therefore possible for the explorer to pass from one level to another, to collect pottery from one layer and compare it with sherds from another, with the least possible difficulty. In consequence, the principles established by Prof. Petrie have remained unshaken by all the subsequent excavations that have taken place; requiring modification in detail only . . . .

"Prof. Petrie having thus worked for six weeks, returned to his duties in Egypt, to which, from his point of view, his Palestinian researches had been ancillary. The work which he began at Tell el-Hesy was finished by his successor, Dr. Frederick Jones Bliss, son of the venerable and honoured Dr. Daniel Bliss, the first president of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut. Dr. Frederick Bliss had been born and had lived most of his life in Syria: he thus had a familiarity with the country, its ways, and its language such as a stranger could hardly hope to acquire; no small qualification for work which necessarily depends on Oriental labour for its prosecution. At Tell el-Hesy he cut down one-third of the whole mound, and the results of his work were published by the Palestine Exploration Fund, the organisers and paymasters of the campaign, in a small volume entitled *A Mound of Many Cities* . . . .

"When the work at Tell el-Hesy was closed, the Palestine Exploration Fund turned its attention once more to its old love—Jerusalem. But perhaps it may be permitted to say that this was a mistake. There is an important principle which it is unfortunately now too late to insist upon, as so few virgin countries remain for

archaeological excavation, namely, that hands should be kept off all the first-magnitude sites until those of lesser importance have been thoroughly examined. *Fiat experimentum in corpore vili* is ever the soundest of principles. Let us do the preliminary chronological investigation in some site of no historical importance, and then, having learned all that it has to tell us, gradually work through the second-class sites, ending with those of outstanding importance. The reason of this principle should be obvious. Excavation is necessarily and inevitably destructive. Walls *must* be pulled down to get at what lies below them. Tomb-deposits *must* be disturbed. Notes and photographs must be taken on the spot and at the moment; else they are valueless, and the lessons for science which the site contains are for ever lost. The excavation becomes what is colloquially but expressively called a 'hogging' for curiosities; and to 'hog' is the unpardonable crime in Archaeology. But even the most conscientious note-taker must know what notes to take and what to look for and observe; it is only experience that will teach him the significance of small points which at first he might not so much as observe. To gain that experience, a small site, the destruction of which would not be a scientific calamity, ought to be studied first. Every stone in Jerusalem is sacred, and the site should be treated as tenderly as a manuscript containing literary matter of value, the parchment of which has become rotten.

"However, work began under Dr. Bliss at Jerusalem in 1894 and continued till 1897. With Dr. Bliss was associated in this work Mr. A. C. Dickie, an architect, now the Professor of Architecture in Manchester University. Starting from the famous scarp on Mount Zion, associated with the name of Henry Maudslay, who had first called attention to it, trenches and tunnels were cut along the line of the foundation of the old south wall of the city, surrounding the hill called Ophel. By this work the southern limit of the city at different periods of history was determined. Numerous interesting discoveries were incidentally made, notably the church erected over the Pool of Siloam by the Empress Eudocia . . . .

"When the permit for the excavation at Jerusalem expired, and the monograph was finished, the Palestine Exploration Fund returned to the country towns in the Shephelah. . . . . Tell es-Safi, long identified, on good grounds with Gath, was selected as the central site of the next campaign; but with it were included a number of other sites in the neighbourhood, which the Committee of the Fund

considered might also be examined. Application was made to the Turkish authorities for permits to examine nine sites in all; these were granted, with one exception, the story of which is not uncharacteristic of the difficulties which met the explorer working in Turkish territory. The site in question, Askalan, was not of the slightest importance. It was withheld because the Turkish authorities confused it with Askalun, that is, Askalon, on the alleged ground that there were certain holy places there which the exploration would interfere with. The real reason, no doubt, was that as Askalun is near the sea, it would have been possible for an explorer to evade the law requiring all the antiquities found in an excavation to be given up to the Turkish government. However, Askalun was not desired, and Askalan was too insignificant to regret. . . . .

"Tell es-Safi proved very disappointing. The summit of the mound was crowned by a village of unusually large size, inhabited by a peculiarly greedy and cantankerous breed of Fellahin; and round the village extended on every side the cemeteries where generations of its folk had been buried, most effectively sealing up the precious underlying accumulations from the truth-seeking archaeologist. Only a few places were found in the whole tell where pits could be sunk, and these proved singularly unproductive. The city wall was traced, but had it not been for a comparatively late rubbish-heap that was found outside one corner of the wall, containing broken fragments of statuettes and other odds and ends, hardly anything worth mention would have been found on this site at all. . . . .

"At Tell Sandahannah the whole site of the Hellenistic city was exposed and planned. Much was added to our previous knowledge of the pottery. Some important tombs were discovered and searched—although, alas, the best of all, the great tomb of Apollophanes at Moresheth was missed by the excavators, and found afterwards by Fellahin, who dispersed its contents unrecorded. Fortunately Science, embodied in Dr. J. P. Peters, of New York, and Prof. Hermann Thiersch, of Freiburg, were in time to save the wall-paintings from being cut off the wall for sale, and to place them on permanent record in their work, *The Marissa Tombs*, published by the Palestine Exploration Fund. During this campaign a beginning was made with an exploration of the extraordinary caves which are among the most remarkable monu-

ments of antiquity in Southern Palestine; huge labyrinths of chamber after chamber—in at least one case there are as many as sixty chambers in a single group—excavated out of the soft chalky rock at some quite unknown time, to serve some quite unknown purpose.

"The site chosen for the next excavation was Gezer.[1] The city had been identified with the mound called Tell el-Jazari, beside the village of Abu Shusheh, near Ramleh, by Prof. Clermont-Ganneau, in the year 1871; and the identification had been confirmed by an inscription found close by—a circumstance which remained unique until an inscription in the tomb of Apollophanes established the identity of Tell Sandahannah with Marissa (Moresheth). It was on an important highway, and was a centre of trade with Egypt; it had been in Egyptian hands, and also in Philistine hands; it had contributed to the Tell el-Amarna correspondence. Here Amorite, Philistine, Egyptian, Hebrew, had all met, and might all have been expected to leave recognizable traces. Remains of all periods from very early Canaanite or Pre-Canaanite to Herodian times were found, although in many respects the results of the excavations differed from the anticipations. The mound is of huge size, and, though the work lasted through five years, it was not possible to dig more than about three fifths of the whole. . . . .

"Most remarkable among the rock-cuttings was the great water tunnel, a huge passage sloping downwards through the rock to a depth of about 90 feet, giving access to a great cave in which rose a powerful spring of water. This excavation was kindred to the elaborate series of passages and galleries which radiate from the Virgin's fountain at Jerusalem, originally explored by Sir Charles Warren, and re-opened in a curious treasure-hunting expedition that took place in 1909.

"Several large residential buildings, castles or palaces, were found here and there; the two city walls were exposed—great structures some 15 feet in thickness—and their architectural history determined. In the centre of the town was found an open space, across which ran an imposing line of rude stone pillars, which it is most reasonable to regard as *masseboth*. Although four of the Tell el-Amarna letters came from Gezer, no further documents of this series were discovered. Two later contract-tablets, however,

[1] [Prof. Macalister modestly omits to mention that the highly successful work here was carried out by himself.—Ed.]

came to light, written in Assyrian, and referring to the sale of land and other property, doubtless in or near the city itself. These belonged to the time of the Assyrian captivity. A limestone tablet inscribed with Hebrew also came to light. Its contents were not very exciting—nothing but a list of the agricultural operations of successive months. The tablet has, however, the interest of being the oldest extant document in the Hebrew language. . . . .

"Hitherto Britain, and the Palestine Exploration Fund, had enjoyed a monopoly of legitimate excavation in the country—legitimate, because unfortunately many of the ancient sites and cemeteries had suffered from the attentions of dealers' agents and other plunderers. . . . .

"The first of other nations to join in friendly rivalry was Austria, which, in the person of Prof. Sellin, then of Vienna, undertook the exploration of Taanach—the first site to be examined on the Plain of Esdraelon. The general civilization proved to be identical with that revealed in the Southern Palestinian sites. Indeed, Palestine is so small a country, that it is unlikely that it should be found to be divided into different zones of culture. Among the more special finds are to be named the now famous altar of terra-cotta, adorned with strange figures of lions, and a number of cuneiform tablets, the correspondence of one Ishtar-washur, which belong to the Tell el-Amarna period.

"Germany followed shortly afterwards, and, represented by Dr. G. Schumacher, attacked the twin mound of Taanach, that is to say, Megiddo (Tell el-Mutasellim). Here again the usual Palestinian culture was revealed. . . . . The chief "find" at Megiddo, which, on the whole, produced little of outstanding interest, was a seal, bearing a finely engraved figure of a lion, and a Hebrew inscription stating that it belonged to one Shama', described as "servant of Jeroboam" — very probably King Jeroboam II.

"America followed next, with an elaborate and extensive exploration of the site of Samaria. It is, however, impossible to say much about this investigation here, as the results of the excavation as yet await publication, and it is not permissible to intrude on the rights of the explorers. When the publication does make its appearance it will be cordially welcomed, as the curiosity that was aroused by the announcement of the discovery of ostraka with Hebrew graffiti still remains only partially satisfied. . . . .

"The next site examined, again under German auspices, was that of Jericho. Its results were not very stimulating, ... a considerable area exposed, but nothing of special importance seems to have been found. Much the same may be said of the partial excavation of 'Ain esh-Shems (Bethshemesh) under the Palestine Exploration Fund. . . . .

"The end of the war has brought a new *régime*, and new duties, devolving especially upon Britain as Mandatory for Palestine. The Department of Antiquities seems to have been well organized already. Under the Turkish rule everything was prohibited; but everything was possible. A caustic Armenian gentleman, formerly well known to the present writer, used to say that the Turk had one virtue and only one—he would take a bribe. Illicit excavation was prohibited with a drastic thoroughness that was worthy of a civilized nation; but diggers and dealers had but to give a small *douceur* to the local administrator of law and order to ensure his complaisance. The only result of the Turkish law, therefore, was to put serious difficulties in the way of legitimate investigators, while allowing plunderers practically a free hand. This is no longer the case.

"Moreover, an important move forward has been made by the establishment of a British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. This body, which will work in collaboration with the American School of Archaeology that has existed there from the beginning of the century, and with the yet older foundation, the magnificent *École Biblique* conducted by learned members of the Dominican Order, is designed for training students in archaeological method, and giving them a practical experience of research work in its several branches. . . . .

"For all these works and institutions money is necessary, and unless Britain greatly increases the support which she has hitherto given to them she will lose the position in the front rank of Palestine research which she has hitherto held. Other nations are pressing hard upon her in the competition; thus America is beginning the excavation of the great mound that covers the important city of Beth-Shean. It is not to the credit of any country that it is prepared to squander tens of thousands on cinemas, horse and other races, football matches, but starves the work of research in the land which is the centre of the Faith that it at least nominally professes.

"Looking back over the general results of the last thirty years' work of exploration in Palestine, the strongest impression which it leaves on the mind is a deepened sense of the wonder of the Old Testament. Even if we throw overboard all theories of a supernatural inspiration, and agree to regard that marvellous anthology of poetry, history, philosophy, and law as the unaided product of the human intellect, its growth in the uncongenial soil and surroundings of Palestine would still be one of the greatest miracles of human history. All the excavations which we have enumerated have uniformly shown that the standard of material civilization was low throughout the whole time covered by the Old Testament history. . . . . Yet it was in these uninspiring conditions that the greatest poetry in the world was written, and that text-books of history were first compiled. . . . . What makes this fact even more remarkable is, that the historic sense was not highly developed among the people at large. . . . . There was so little historic instinct among the people, as a whole, that they even neglected to record the names of the dead buried in the tombs which they hewed from the rock with such great labour. Round Jerusalem there are scores, even hundreds, of rock-cut tombs, some of them of great extent; but hardly any of them bear inscriptions, and, when they do, these in almost every case commemorate foreigners—Greeks, Romans, and in one case a German.

"The drab monotony of the civilization revealed by the diggings, darkened still further, as it is, by statuettes and other objects that frequently come to light to testify to the crudity of the nature-worship followed by the rank and file of the people, is a background which sets forth in greater brilliance the prophets and psalmists, the teachers and the tellers of tales, who played out their parts upon a stage so strangely incongruous."

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Fifty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held on Tuesday, May 30th, in rooms kindly lent by the Royal Society, Sir Herbert Samuel, G.B.E., H.M. High Commissioner for Palestine, in the Chair. There was a good attendance, and much interest was evinced in the speeches and in the reports of the Fund's work. A full account of the Meeting is given in this issue.

It is with great regret that the Committee record the resignation of the Chairman, owing to the numerous calls upon his time in Oxford. What Dr. Hogarth has been and has done for the Fund is familiar to our readers, and they will be glad to know that his step does not mean any diminution in his living interest in the work of the Fund.

Dr. Hogarth's place has been filled by Dr. H. R. Hall, of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. He is well known as an archaeologist and an Egyptologist, with a first-hand acquaintance with Egypt and the Near East. His *Ancient History of the Near East* has shown that he has a very real interest in Palestine, and the Committee are fortunate in being able to find so suitable a successor. Dr. Hall was unable to be present at the Annual Meeting, but sent a letter, portions of which were read, and which is printed in full as an Appendix to the Report. It is an important statement of the work of Palestinian research to which we wish to draw the attention of our readers.

A very important proposal for the future constitution of the Fund was made by Dr. Masterman. The Honorary Secretary pointed out the necessity of re-establishing the General Committee on a firmer foundation, and proposed that all subscribers who have already paid not less than five guineas by donations or annual subscriptions should be members of the General Committee, and enjoy all the privileges of membership of the Fund as long as they continued annual subscribers of not less than one guinea. This would have among other effects that the lady members would also find a welcome place in the list of the General Committee. *See* below, p. 103.

Owing to the many demands upon our space in this issue, we are obliged to hold over various articles, reviews and notices. We must, however, call attention to a work presented to the Fund by Mr. Aug. F. Ammann, of Renens, Waadt, namely, a new edition, a reproduction in fact, of the "Reise ins Gelobte Land" of Hans Jakob Ammann in 1612–13. This old traveller (known as the Thalwyler Schärer) wrote an enlivening and curiously illustrated work which is still of considerable interest in many respects, and many of our readers will doubtless be glad to know of it.

Special mention may also be made of two quarto volumes presented by P. Golubovich:—

> "Biblioteca Bio-Bibliographica della Terra Santa E Dell Oriente Francescano. Nuova Serie. Documenti Diretta dal P. Girolamo Golubovich, O.F.M.—Acta s. Congregationes de Propaganda fide pro Terre Sancta. Parte I (1622–1720) and Parte II (1721–1847) del P. Leonardo Lemmens, O.F.M.

Subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund may be interested to hear that the Fund have acquired the remaining copies of *Jerusalem sous Terre*, written by Father Vincent, and published at the Office of the *Field* Newspaper. This work is profusely illustrated by plans and photographs, and giving as it does a full archaeological review of the excavations in the hill "Ophel," conducted by the Hon. Montague B. Parker, is essential to all those who make a scientific study of the Holy City. The Fund is disposing of

these—of which there is only a limited stock—at 5*s.* per copy, or 6*s.* post free.

Subscribers will recollect that the map of the Negeb or Wilderness of Zin, which should have accompanied the 1914–15 Annual, had then to be withheld from publication owing to the War. The Committee are glad to announce that the map has now been prepared for the Fund by the War Office, and a copy will be supplied gratis to those Members desirous of procuring it to complete their record of the 1914 Survey. Applications should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary.

Photo-relief map of Palestine: This popular little map, which is reproduced by collotype process from the well-known raised maps, has been reprinted and is now on sale. It measures (with margin) 29 × 19 inches and contains some hundreds of Biblical names. The price to subscribers is 2*s.* 6*d.*, and to non-subscribers 3*s.*; postage 6*d.* extra.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, pp. 90–91.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged

by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1921 was published in the Annual Report, recently issued to Subscribers.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 4, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Please note that the Library and Museum will be closed to the public from Friday, August 18th, to Saturday, September 9th, inclusive.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Elihu Grant, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Haverford College, Pa.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Near East : May 18, By Air to Baghdad ; June 8, Review by Sir Denison Ross of "The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate," by H. F. Amedroz and Prof. Margoliouth ; June 1st, The Economic Resources of Palestine.

The Expository Times, June : 30 Years' Progress in Assyriology, by C. J. Gadd.

The Irish Theological Quarterly, April : Origins of Orphism, by Michael Tierney.

The Zionist Review.

Palestine.

University of Pennsylvania. Publication of the Babylonian Section: Vol. XIII., Historical Fragments, by Leon Legrain.

American Journal of Philology, XLIII, I, Note on the name Tyana, by Prof. W. F. Albright.

Jewish Quarterly Review.

Art and Archaeology, March: American Indian Artists; April: Ceylon; May: Excavations in Greece in 1921.

Revue Biblique, April: Une Villa Gréco-Romaine à Beit Djebrin, by R. P. Vincent.

Biblica, Vol. III, Part II.

The Homiletic Review.

Hebrew Christian Alliance Quarterly.

Hans Jakob Ammann genannt der Thalwyler Schürer und seine Reise ins Gelobte Land, 4th edition, 1921, by A. F. Ammann, Zurich, 1922. See also above, p. 88.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung: Monatsschrift für die Wissenschaft vom ganzen Orient.

The Palestine Weekly.

Bible Lands.

Al-Mashrīk.

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books :—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

Prof. Flinders Petrie's *Tell el-Hesy* (*Lachish*).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. I, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee

wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

THE Fifty-seventh Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held in the Rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, London, W. 1, on Tuesday, May 30th, 1922, the Rt. Honourable Sir HERBERT SAMUEL, G.B.E., H.M. High Commissioner for Palestine, in the Chair. The Chairman was supported by Mr. RONALD STORRS (Governor of Jerusalem) and Dr. D. G. HOGARTH (Chairman of the Executive Committee).

The HON. SECRETARY announced that letters regretting inability to be present had been received from Lord Crawford, the Hon. W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., the Rev. W. Ewing, Archdeacon Waddy, Father Waggett, the Chief Rabbi, Mr. James Melrose, Brig.-Gen. Paul, and Prof. Buchanan Gray.

The HON. SECRETARY then read the Minutes of the Annual Meeting held on June 29th, 1921, which were confirmed and signed by the Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN moving the adoption of the Report and Accounts said:—I had the privilege two years ago, immediately before leaving for Palestine, to be present at an Annual Meeting of this Society. Almost immediately after my arrival in Palestine steps were taken to establish there a Department of Antiquities, the object of which would be to preserve what has already been discovered in Palestine in the field of archaeology and to encourage the discovery of what yet remains hidden. The Administration of Palestine regards itself as the trustee of the world, for all the world is interested in Palestine. As the Mandatory Power the British Government recognises that it has a moral responsibility not only to the people of these islands, and not only to the people of Palestine, but also to the public opinion of the world at large. The religious interests of many creeds centre in Palestine. In archaeology there is much to be discovered that is likely to throw floods of light upon many of the problems of those religions. We value archaeology, also, for its own sake, or perhaps not entirely

for its own sake, for all the sciences are connected with one another, and archaeology is of value for the sake of history as history is of value for the sake of politics. Politics, as we know, is one of the conditions of human happiness—or unhappiness, as the case may be. Thus you get a chain of connection between the operations of a Fund such as this, seeking to accumulate the raw materials for history, and through history and politics with many of the problems that confront mankind to-day.

The new Administration of Palestine, established after the happy disappearance of the Turk, is, of course, sympathetic to the work of archaeological research. It hopes that it is efficient; it is sure that it is sympathetic. I trust that under that Administration the work of this Fund, and of other bodies that are labouring in the same field, may be pursued with even greater success than prevailed in earlier days. The Administration of Palestine has established a Government Museum in which the fruits of research can be exhibited, and although that Museum is at present on a small scale it already reflects a considerable amount of credit on the Archaeological Department and on the Keeper of the Museum. His name will be known to you, Mr. Phythian Adams, who is working under the direction of Prof. Garstang, whom we have been fortunate in securing as Director of the Department of Antiquities of the Administration of Palestine. Prof. Garstang, indeed, has combined that office, which is no light one, with that of Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, and also last year with that of Local Representative of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Under him were carried on the excavations at Askalon. As Director of the Department of Antiquities, as Head of the British School of Archaeology and as Local Representative of the Palestine Exploration Fund, he was indeed the Poo-Bah of Palestine archaeology. Combining all those functions, it is not surprising that under the strain Prof. Garstang's health for a time gave way, and that he has been obliged to resign the representation of the Exploration Fund in Palestine.

Much work has been and is being done by the Americans. The American Universities in particular have devoted considerable funds and much energy to the work of exploration in Palestine, and I am glad to say that the French are also working in the same sphere. They have completely uncovered the ruins of a most interesting first or second century synagogue, which was accidentally

discovered during the war in the neighbourhood of Jericho, a part of the mosaic pavement being disclosed by the bursting of a shell in the course of the campaign.

There has also been founded recently a Jewish Archaeological Society which has been engaged in excavations in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, and they also have been fortunate in discovering the ruins of an ancient synagogue. A most interesting object found there was a Mĕnōrah, or seven-branch candlestick, undoubtedly of a very early period.

It is most fortunate that these various bodies belonging to different nations and peoples should be working together in friendly harmony and in scientific co-operation. The Government of Palestine has secured the co-operation of all of them in an International Archaeological Council. That Council represents not only British interests but also American and French interests, the Italians and the Jewish Archaeological Society, and to it all matters of importance affecting exploration in Palestine are submitted. It is this Council which advises the Department of Antiquities in the allocation of permits to excavate, and all other matters of importance are submitted to its consideration. It is by that means that we are able to secure that the widespread universal interest, of which I have spoken, in matters Palestinian is focussed upon archaeology there, and that nothing in the nature of friction or unfriendly rivalry can exist between the various funds and enterprises that are at work in this sphere.

The Palestine Exploration Fund, as you are aware, devoted itself mainly last year to the excavation of Askalon. I twice had the advantage of visiting the works that were being carried on there under the direction of Prof. Garstang, assisted by Mr. Phythian Adams, and I was greatly impressed by the magnitude of the task which he had undertaken, and impressed also, as everyone must be, by the deep interest of some of the discoveries that he has made. Perhaps the most interesting, though by no means the most picturesque, was a cutting which had been made in a scarp at the edge of a hill going down about 30 feet, which showed in various strata the remains of all the different civilisations that had occupied that spot. Between them were the bands of earth that represented the deposits of time during the intervals when the site was desolate. There you see layer below layer the potsherds of the modern Arabs, of the

Crusaders, of the Byzantines, of the Romans, of the Philistines, and of the Canaanites, a cutting of 30 feet summarising the history of about thirty centuries. It is, in fact, a gauge of history, one might say; a section cut through time. And although there was nothing to be seen but the bands of earth and of broken pottery alternating one with another, it was indeed a romantic and a most moving sight, giving one at a single glance the record of so many of the generations of men.

On that site also has been unearthed the great Stoa of King Herod and a number of fragments of interesting Roman, or Graeco-Roman, sculpture which have well repaid the work of excavation that has been proceeding; but further work remains to be done before the task which the Fund has set before itself of making discoveries of a definite character affecting the civilization of the Philistines has been accomplished, and that is the next task to which I understand the Fund is desirous of setting itself. It is hampered, like most organizations, by lack of sufficient resources. It was sad to see, on looking through the Balance Sheet—the adoption of which I am now about to move—that during last year not only was it necessary to sell some of your investments to the extent of £500, but also it was necessary to reduce the balance with which you began the year by an equal sum. That is by no means a satisfactory state of things, and I earnestly trust that the friends of the Fund will come forward and place at its disposal the resources which are needed if it is to fulfil its task of unearthing the treasures of history which the soil of Palestine still holds concealed. (Applause.)

I now have much pleasure in moving that the Report and Accounts for the year 1921 be received and adopted.

Mr. Ronald Storrs (Governor of Jerusalem), in seconding the motion, said:—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a great pleasure and pride to me to be called upon to second the motion proposed by Sir Herbert Samuel, the High Commissioner of Palestine. The state of archaeology in Palestine, briefly touched upon by His Excellency, needs, I think—what His Excellency omitted—a little further explanation in the sense of praise. The budgets of all countries which contain archaeological remains have been reduced very stringently of late. I compared, for the sake of interest, the other day the Italian, the Greek, the Egyptian, and the Palestinian budgets under that heading, and it is a matter of interest and of

great pride to the Government of Palestine, and should be, I think, of satisfaction to this Society, to know that in proportion to its total resources the Government of Palestine does infinitely more for archaeology than either of the other three Governments I quoted. (Applause.) Lest there should be any representative of the English Treasury here, I hasten to add that all this is not done without the necessary counter-modification to the Budget and without increasing unduly the amount that should be spent on archaeology.

From his first arrival in the country Sir Herbert definitely encouraged archaeologists in the belief and certainty that their efforts would be attended with every possible assistance from the Government. Not only was Prof. Garstang established there, but he was given as far as was possible all the help he asked for in the way of staff. In case there should be any present who have among their friends those in a position to help the Society, I would like to remind them that the sites of Palestine in general and of Jerusalem in particular are unique in the world in the possibilities of discovery. Not only inside the walls of the old city in the valley of the Tyropoeon, which you will be aware is 90 feet below the present level, are there matchless possibilities of research, but outside the walled city, especially to the south-east and the neighbourhood of Ophel, in David's original city, there are sites as yet untouched, and any person who is able in any way to assist in the development of these sites may lay open an absolutely new chapter of the history of the ancient world.

One of the most satisfactory features of the archaeological situation for the moment is, as Sir Herbert remarked, the entire harmony which prevails between the different schools of archaeology. The American School has already been mentioned, the Franciscans have a School, the French Dominicans have a School, and the results of all these Schools, representing these different nations, some of which are famed for a rather drastic patriotism—the results obtained by each are held very willingly at the disposal of all who care to examine them.

Dr. Hogarth was good enough to hint that it might be of possible interest to members of the Palestine Exploration Fund to hear something about the pro-Jerusalem Society. This was founded about four years ago, shortly after the military occupation of the city. There are many aspects of civic life which no civil government,

and, I need hardly add, far less any military government, can hope to tackle. In Jerusalem, for instance, it is a much cheaper and easier thing for a man who wishes to repair his house to repair it with corrugated iron or stucco than with the proper traditional grey stone of Judaea, but that is a temptation which I think you will agree it is the duty of the Government to obviate as far as possible. (Hear, hear.) I consider that the military administration would have been most fatally to blame if it had allowed factory chimneys, ugly red tiled and corrugated iron buildings to spring up inside the walled city. (Hear, hear.) No such buildings have, in fact, sprung up, but the prevention of them sometimes brings upon those who are doing their best to preserve the traditional amenities of the Holy City the accusation of a reactionary temperament, of a mind given over to aestheticism. I go so far as to hope that this Society will acquit the military administration, indeed any military administration, of the charge of excessive aestheticism.

The pro-Jerusalem Society exists on funds collected by the ordinary methods of collection, that is to say, almost frank begging. Since the arrival of the High Commissioner it has been enormously helped, apart from his general encouragement and acceptance of the Honorary Presidency, by a financial grant from the Palestine Government, which gives me pound for pound for any moneys I am able to collect. (Applause.) With that a certain staff is maintained under a Civic Officer and the walls are kept in repair. The Citadel is in process of gradual preservation and restoration. The waste places are made, if not to "blossom as the rose," at all events to bloom with cypresses and other appropriate trees. One or two industries have been started amongst them; a tile factory, or rather workshop, from which it is hoped that we shall in the very near future be able to cover again those portions of the ancient Dome of the rock from which the tiles have in the course of centuries fallen. This provides work for the inhabitants of the country without distinction of race or creed, and it brings very considerable sums into the country because the tiles, quite apart from their historic association with the Dome of the rock, have great beauty of their own and will shortly be on the market in London. If any person here present would care to know anything more about the pro-Jerusalem Society, I shall be only too delighted to explain it to them, and would welcome any membership so long as it is not honorary!

I have nothing further to add save to beg to second the motion moved by His Excellency.

There being no questions, the CHAIRMAN then put the motion to the meeting and declared the Report and Accounts unanimously adopted.

Dr. D. G. HOGARTH (Chairman, Executive Committee).—Ladies and Gentlemen, before I proceed to the inevitable and melancholy task allotted to me on this occasion may I make a slight explanation of a remark that fell from Sir Herbert Samuel, namely, that Prof. Garstang had been compelled by pressure of work to give up representation of this Society in Palestine. That is perfectly true, but it might convey a wrong impression. What has happened is that, owing to pressure of work, it was agreed between Prof. Garstang and the Committee of this Society, in full accord and practically at their mutual suggestion, that he should depute his own deputy, Mr. Phythian Adams, to conduct the explorations on behalf of the Society and correspond directly with the Society. It has been almost impossible for Prof. Garstang during the last season to cope with the work, and it was felt that Mr. Phythian Adams should be the excavator for the Society and communicate with it and be responsible for the publication of the work.

In connection with that perhaps I might be allowed to take this opportunity of making an announcement which I have the leave of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury and the Foreign Office to make. In response to an appeal from the Committee of the British School in Jerusalem, which found itself threatened with such serious difficulties in the course of the next twelve months that it might have been necessary to wind up the School and, at any rate, it would certainly have been necessary to close down its activities for some little time, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury very generously gave us £200 out of certain accumulated funds in their possession for the current year, and are prepared to ask Parliamentary sanction in each of the next three years—1923, 1924, and 1925—for a grant of £500 to the British School of Archaeology in each year. That is a matter of great interest to members of this Society and affects our position in various ways, inasmuch as it makes the School stable and able to stand upon its own feet. We can only rejoice that this most satisfactory result has been arrived at when we consider the present state of public

finances and the attitude of Government Departments towards almost any application that is made.

I have now briefly to refer to the losses we have had this year, less in quantity, I am glad to say, than sometimes, but very serious in quality. First of all, Lord Ducie, who became a member of the Fund in 1870, within five years of its foundation, and although he did not attend our meetings, continued down to the last on our General Committee. We have lost also Mr. George H. Johnston of Edinburgh, who was our Honorary Secretary in Edinburgh, and took a lively and constant interest in this Society. Then we come to two names, the first of which is a name already mentioned, that of Lord Bryce, who took the Chair at our very last meeting, the Minutes of which have been read to-day. In him we have lost a very real and warm friend. Among the many matters in which his extraordinarily alert nature interested itself, not the least was everything connected with Palestine, and I am sure those here to-day and those who were at the meeting last year in the rooms opposite, will remember the spirited and exceedingly encouraging address which he delivered to us and his energetic, passionate protest against any neglect of Palestinian archaeology. Nothing was so characteristic of Lord Bryce as the width and the acuteness of his interests, and it is probably known to you that those continued up to the very last hours of his life. Nobody carried the fulness of his life right up to the end more remarkably than Lord Bryce, and there is no one whom this Fund has more right and reason to deplore.

The other name is that of the Honorary Treasurer of this Society for so many years, namely, Mr. Walter Morrison, the greatest benefactor the Fund has had. It was not only that his immense fortune gave him singular power of being generous to the Fund, but that his own interest in its work was so real. I believe that it resulted from an early journey in Palestine; but from whatever cause it sprang, it continued to the end. You probably know that he was at the back of the Society of Biblical Archaeology throughout practically its whole existence. His gifts to us cannot be enumerated, but the most obvious is the house in Hinde Street in which the Fund is lodged. It was always difficult to let members of the Fund know what he did, because his first instinct was to conceal everything. He once did a most generous act in connection with some excavations with which I was connected, even though

he did not know me personally. He sent a cheque for £5,000, and when we had exhausted that, plus the £5,000 which he insisted on the British Museum finding, he capped it with £10,000, which he put into a small Trust Fund, a good deal of which is unexpended at the present moment; and he absolutely refused to let anybody know who had given the first £5,000, even the Trustees of the British Museum. As he characteristically put to me: "If it is known that an old fool has given £5,000, which is not going to bring him in any return, I shall get 500 begging letters in the next week." We shall never probably again have a benefactor who will be able and willing to do so much for us as Mr. Walter Morrison. He was the last survivor of the original members of the Society, having joined it in 1865. So you see, though I have only four names, two at least are among the members of this Society whom we should most wish to have with us still.

Dr. E. W. G. Masterman (Hon. Secretary): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, after the very interesting addresses we have had from you and Mr. Storrs, I think the meeting will feel that they have been well repaid for having come here this afternoon, and though it is not my duty to propose a Vote of Thanks, I cannot help expressing how very greatly we appreciate the fact that you have both attended this meeting. (Applause.)

I must now turn your minds for a few moments to the actual and somewhat prosaic business which we have to consider this afternoon. I am anxious to do that because I have a proposal to make which I hope will appeal to the subscribers of the Society, and which I hope, if it is approved by this meeting, may be beneficial in bringing the subscribers into a greater realization that it is their Society and that they have the responsibility of supporting it. That, indeed, instead of putting the whole of the responsibility on to the Executive Committee or the Officers, it is *their* business to see how matters go. You can easily understand that at the present time—and all who are interested in the Society will feel with me in this—we are passing through a period of very great anxiety as to the future of a Society such as ours. You have heard, and if you read some of the Palestinian papers you will know, how many Societies there are now springing up to work in Palestine. You have heard from Mr. Storrs of that excellent Society, the pro-Jerusalem Society, which in no way clashes with

the objects of our Society, but is doing splendid work in protecting the remains of Old Jerusalem. Then there is that Society which we may call also the daughter Society of our own, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. That is a Society in which we most of us are interested and which is doing a work of a different character from that of the Palestine Exploration Fund; it is doing a work which the Fund has never attempted and never would have attempted, namely, that of educating archaeologists for work in Palestine, and it exists primarily for educational purposes. You have a Jewish Society working in Tiberias; the University of Pennsylvania doing large and important excavation in Beisan, and the University of Harvard, in America, also planning to complete work which it has commenced at Samaria. There are, indeed, Societies working all over the place. But what is to become of our original old Society, the parent of all the Societies working in Jerusalem, which existed and worked there before any of these foreign Societies existed? Our funds are entirely inadequate to undertake the work that we want to. We have a steady income from subscribers and we are not insolvent. At the same time, when we see around us opportunities for excavation leading to the expenditure of thousands of pounds we can only afford a very few hundred. In the programme for the new year we have allocated £300 for a very modest excavation, and next year we shall be spending as much on publishing the results of these Askalon excavations. Before the third year comes (1924) I hope we may have a rally in financial support to help us go forward on the lines we have done in the past, for I venture to say that there has been no excavation in Palestine of any kind which compares with the great excavation of Gezer which was conducted by Prof. Macalister for five years, which, it seems to me, was the model of all an excavation can be. At any rate, it was a work which was done thoroughly and well and, to a large extent, completed, and that is what we ought to aim at.

I want to avoid making a speech, but in making my proposal I should like to explain to you that the Society is very curiously constituted. It consists of a General Committee, an Executive Committee, and a few Shareholders. The Shareholders we can leave out altogether; they are only there for mere formality's sake. The original General Committee was elected by a body of gentlemen who made themselves into a Provisional Committee; the General

Committee elected an Executive Committee, and for sixty years we have been allowing the Executive Committee each year to suggest new names for the General Committee, and the General Committee elect the Executive Committee, and so we have gone on electing ourselves! An entirely close corporation! Some people may think that desirable, and I may be rather throwing a bombshell when I suggest, with the approval of the Executive Committee, that those subscribers who have belonged to the Society for some time and have subscribed either in the form of a donation or an annual subscription a sum of not less than five guineas—which you can look upon as an entrance fee if you like—should be elected at the General Meeting annually as members of the General Committee—in other words, as "members of the Society." The Deed of the Society's foundation does not recognise any members, apart from members of the General Committee. We suggest that they should be elected members of the General Committee and remain members of that Committee with the right of coming to this meeting and exercising their influence in its affairs as long as they continue annual subscribers of a sum of not less than one guinea. The resolution is as follows:—

> "That all subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund who have already paid a sum of not less than five guineas (by way of donations or of annual subscriptions) be added to the General Committee and enjoy the privileges of membership of the Fund as long as they continue annual subscribers of not less than one guinea."

That would add to our members, if we carry it out to-day, the number of 500, and I venture to think that if those people become members they are going to feel some intimate touch and greater responsibility towards the Society. There are people to the number of 150 who, though they have paid the total of five guineas, have not yet taken up the subscription of one guinea, and if they should do so my suggestion is that they should also have their names added. They have paid for a number of years half-guinea subscriptions, but that scarcely does more than cover the cost of the *Quarterly Statement*. Further, under this new rule we shall be enabled to welcome among our members those whom we have not had with us as members for upwards of sixty years, namely, a number of ladies. (Hear, hear.) I move the resolution and suggest that there should be some little discussion on it, and if any considerable number

think it is desirable that the matter should be further gone into we are quite prepared to have it deferred and further considered. Personally, I may say that it has been discussed with the Executive, and we think it might quite safely be put into operation if this meeting agrees.

Colonel Sir CHARLES CLOSE seconded the motion, and said that he regarded the proposal as a most democratic one, for it would have the effect of bringing all those interested in the Society into closer touch with the mechanism and working of it.

Dr. S. DAICHES: I should like to ask what is the difference between the General Committee and the Society itself?

Dr. E. W. G. MASTERMAN: The Society legally consists of nothing but the General Committee, and the subscribers have no representation whatever. The simplest way of avoiding the legal business of reconstitution of the "Articles of Association" would be to put subscribers who have subscribed long enough and have shown their interest on to the General Committee by election at each Annual Meeting. That would not preclude following the custom of recommending to the meeting others for immediate election on to the General Committee whom we wish to have there for some special reason.

Mr. HERBERT BIRCH said he was very glad that the question had been raised, for the General Committee of the Society was an anomaly. He had been a member of that Committee for about forty years and had not been asked to any sort of round table talk; he was sure it would be most helpful if the General Committee could be brought a little more in touch with what was going on. If the Executive Committee and the Hon. Secretary could devise some means of utilising the latent power of the General Committee he personally would be very pleased to support anything that was done.

Before sitting down he wished, as an old member who had visited Palestine forty-seven years ago, to thank His Excellency for the delightful address he had given. He had very happily expressed the changes that had passed over that wonderfully fascinating country, and to Sir Herbert it must have been peculiarly fascinating. Greater changes had taken place in forty-seven years than in thirty centuries. Forty years ago there was no real vehicle

in that country; no road, no inn, no place to sleep in but one's own tent, or the acceptance of the hospitality of the monks in the convents. Certainly the change that had taken place was phenomenal.

The CHAIRMAN then put the resolution to the Meeting and declared it carried unanimously.

On the motion of the Rev. E. N. BICKERSTETH, seconded by Mr. R. I. MONEY, the Executive Committee were unanimously re-elected.

Dr. D. G. HOGARTH then gave a Report on the Excavations. Ladies and Gentlemen,—those who were present at the last meeting will remember that we had just received a telegram from Prof. Garstang, then in Palestine, saying that he believed he had discovered at Askalon the site of Herod's Cloister. Since then a good deal more excavation has been done by him on behalf of the Fund, and both he and Mr. Phythian Adams have succeeded in clearing the site of what is considered to be Herod's Cloister as thoroughly as, I think, we can hope to clear it. In a town which has been such a constant quarry for many centuries it is not surprising that there should not be very much left. But there remain many parts and members of a very magnificent building, not exactly a cloister, as we understand the word, for this usually means something with a courtyard in the middle and an arcade all the way round. The right word was used by the High Commissioner, namely "*stoa*," a long arcade. If you can imagine the neighbouring Burlington Arcade three times its length, widened out to nearly twenty feet, deprived of those attractions which meet you right and left, and having in their place sculptures in niches and paintings, you have the building. Those among you who know Athens will remember the Stoa which ran along the south side of the Acropolis, enabling people to walk in the shade from the Odeum to the Theatre. The long building which Prof. Garstang had been exploring appears to have been of that nature, a long arcade running very nearly north and south. In the first season it was not recognised. What was found then was an apsidal building with steps leading down in the manner of the tribune of a Roman basilica to a well. It was found that this apse had been converted into an actual theatre as late as the sixth century A.D. To this day it is not very certain what that apsidal building is.

I find it difficult to believe that a Roman basilica would have been built there before the time of Herod. In any case, this building is earlier than the colonnade which leads off on the north and which is ascribed to Herod the Great and is mentioned by Josephus, who says that Herod the Great adorned Askalon with very magnificent colonnades. It is possible, in fact quite probable, that both the "basilica" and the magnificent arcade which was built later—probably just about the time of the birth of Christ—were related to the Sacred Lake, the existence of which we know from various legends of Askalon. It may be that, in the low eastern part of the site, very much sanded up and not explored by Prof. Garstang, lies the actual site of that lake. They were places for worshippers or people who hung about the sacred site to pass the heat of the day in. At any rate, the Stoa is an extremely interesting building and gives us some idea of the glory that was Askalon's in the first century of our era. But of course the existence of buildings like that create a very great difficulty, and the thousands of pounds that would have to be spent on any attempt to remove them is a great deterrent. A still greater deterrent is the question whether it be proper to remove them or to destroy one set of remains in order to inspect another. The right way, of course, is not to do either of those things, but to shore up the later building and then explore underneath by means of tunnelling; but that costs many thousands of pounds.

I am afraid that we have arrived at a turning point in the exploration of the site of Askalon. It is clear that there overlies the whole centre of the city so thick a bed, first of Arab and then of Crusading, and then Roman and then Hellenistic remains, that no one except a Government or a very rich Society can hope properly to examine the site down to the Philistine level. Sir Herbert Samuel has described, as an eye-witness, a scarp cut on the north surface of the site by Prof. Garstang in order to expose, layer by layer, the levels of civilization. It is one of the most interesting and valuable results of the whole excavation that we now have a scheme of the chronology, in terms of indestructible pottery, upon a Philistine site. But from this scarp it is impossible to work inland without dealing with all those massive superimposed levels. On all such sites the earliest city is likely to be the smallest. At Askalon it evidently lay in the centre of the site, and is now not only covered, but also surrounded for a considerable distance by, the later Roman

city. Therefore we have not been able to get down to the inhabited part and uncover any Philistine houses. We have also been unable to find any Philistine graves, though both Roman and Hellenistic graves have been found. We are not sure whether the people of the earlier civilizations buried their dead near or far away. In Crete we found graves under the floors of Minoan houses, and it is very probable that the graves of the Philistine inhabitants are also upon the sides of the original central hillock and now covered deeply by the Roman city. Therefore, for the present, until our funds are much more adequate, we had better let Askalon be, and try to see whether the evidence which we have obtained for the stratification of the Philistine Period is correct by testing other and more open sites in the neighbourhood. We have decided that for this year a small sum of £300 to £400 be given to Mr. Phythian Adams in order that he may make exploratory trenches in three or four—possibly five—open mounds of the Philistine Period in the southern part of the Philistine country. We hope thereby to confirm and to supplement the evidence which we have obtained in Askalon, and also to get at the actual buildings and probably graves of the Philistines. And we hope, further, that this work may awaken so much interest in that remarkable people that we shall be more liberally supplied with funds and return to Askalon at no distant date and explore the centre of the site.

There has also occurred a unique chance at Gaza, where I understand that a portion of what is evidently the city wall of the Philistine Period has been exposed. It may be possible there not only to uncover more of this wall and study the methods of its construction, but also to push a little way inside and get into the houses; possibly also to find graves which would be likely to be round the periphery of the wall, both inside and outside. Mr. Adams is also to make an experimental excavation there. We are given to understand that with the progress of town-planning and the increase of civilization this piece of wall is not likely to remain long open, and we must get to work on it without delay.

There remain a good many problems which the excavation of Askalon has not yet cleared up. Who was in that part of the world before the Philistines? No really primitive remains have yet come to light there. What we now regard as pottery of the Philistine Period is, as we should expect, pottery of the 12th and 13th centuries B.C. If you compare it with Cretan, it is of a

period when the Cretan civilization had run pretty nearly its full course. There must be something earlier than that, and it is possible that on one of these open sites we may be able to throw some light upon this problem.

As you know, and as every practical excavator knows, it is very difficult to go down to very great depths by trenching. By the time you get down to 30 feet, even if you have cut widely at the top, the area you can inspect at the bottom is almost too small to be useful. The first attempt which Prof. Garstang made failed for this reason. He dug a great trench, only to find that when he got down 30 feet it was only 3 feet wide and yet he had not got below the Hellenistic level. That gives you some idea of the magnitude of the task which we undertook at Askalon.

We have great hopes that we shall be able by the expenditure of no very great sum this year to put before you extremely interesting evidence bearing on all periods of the history of Palestine.

I have been the Chairman of your Executive Committee for the last three years, but I am afraid so many things have added unto me in Oxford that it is impossible for me to give sufficient time to the affairs of this Society between the meetings. Therefore, with very great regret, I have had to resign. The Executive Committee has been fortunate in persuading Dr. H. R. Hall, at present second-in-command of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, to take my place. Had it been possible, Dr. Hall would have been present to-day and spoken at this meeting. As it is, he has written a letter in which he deals with his own views about the future work of the Fund and also with what everyone realises, the obvious need of greater financial support. [Dr. Hall's letter is printed below as an appendix.]

Considering the funds at his disposal, I think Prof. Garstang has done a great work at Askalon. Although it is still incomplete, it has already produced results which will be of inestimable service to future excavators both in Syria and Palestine. (Applause.)

The Chairman.—I am sure we are most grateful to Dr. Hogarth for the address he has given us on the excavations carried out by the Fund. He has added one more to the many services he has been good enough to render to the Fund during the considerable

period he has been acting as Chairman of the Executive. I feel certain this meeting will not wish to separate without expressing thanks to him and regret that he has found it necessary to resign.

A vote of thanks having been heartily accorded to Dr. Hogarth, Colonel Sir CHARLES CLOSE, in moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman, said Sir Herbert most certainly deserved such thanks. He was a very busy man and yet he had found time to attend the meeting and thereby add greatly to the interest of the meeting. They thanked the High Commissioner of Palestine not only for presiding at that meeting but also for the constant encouragement he had given to the Fund.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN, in reply, expressed his thanks, and said that he would do his best to support the work of the Fund in Palestine.

A vote of thanks was proposed by Prof. DICKIE to the Council of the Royal Society for the use of the room in which the meeting was held.

The proceedings then terminated.

DR. HALL'S LETTER.

Dr. H. R. Hall, of the British Museum, the newly-elected Chairman of the Committee, who was unfortunately unable to attend the meeting, sent the following communication, the main portion of which was read at the meeting :—

DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES,
BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON, W.C.
30*th May*, 1922.

DEAR DR. MASTERMAN,

It is with very great regret that I am not able to be present at the General Meeting this afternoon, but unavoidable business in the late afternoon makes it impossible for me to come. I send my apologies to the Chairman and members and to our guests for my unexpected absence. At the same time I should be glad if you would communicate to the meeting a few remarks which I should have made, had I been able to be present, on the subject of the work of the Fund in the immediate future. Dr. Hogarth will already have dealt with the past work of the Fund during his Chairmanship.

We all feel the great loss to the Society involved in Dr. Hogarth's retirement, and heartily wish that it had been possible for him to continue as Chairman. If, however, his retirement is inevitable, we

must accept his decision with the hope that in the future he will be able to attend meetings of the Committee when he is in London, and that we shall have the benefit of his counsel in the work of the Fund in the future as in the past.

Like other societies of the kind, the Palestine Exploration Fund suffers from lack of money. If we are to continue our work satisfactorily we must try by all means in our power to secure more of the sinews of war, and it is to be hoped that every member will now more than ever deem it incumbent upon him to make the aims and work of the Society known among those of his acquaintance who he thinks are likely to be interested, and be a missionary of archaeological exploration in the Holy Land, in which we now, as a result of the war, have so unrivalled an opportunity.

It is the possession of ample funds that enables the University of Pennsylvania to carry out its work at Beisan on so large a scale and so efficiently. Beisan is the Scythopolis of the Greeks, the ancient Beth-shean, which we know well in the Old Testament. The Greek name was apparently derived from a settlement of the Scyths, who in the seventh century B.C., under Madyēs, son of Protothyēs, as Herodotus tells us, swept down upon Syria and Palestine at the time of the destruction of Assyria. They were the Shkūz or Ashkūz, the name misunderstood (by a misreading of a Hebrew letter) as "Ashkenaz" in the Biblical text; and Jeremiah speaks of them in the words "they lay hold on bow and spear, they are cruel and have no mercy, their voice roareth like the sea and they ride upon horses." We obtain an idea of what they were like from the famous picture of their rivals, the Kimmerians, riding furiously with huge swinging swords, with their war-hounds racing beside them, on the beautiful pottery sarcophagus of the early sixth century in the British Museum, found at Klazomenae in Ionia. The settlement of the Scyths at Beth-shean must much have resembled one of those colonies of immigrant Circassians which are a feature of modern Syria. It would be interesting if any trace of them could be identified at Beisan.

Then we come to the Philistine occupation. Beth-shean was the furthest eastern outpost of the Aegean conquerors of the Shephelah, holding the entry to the vale of Esdraelon from the direction of the Jordan. Up to the present, the American excavators have in the season June–October, 1921, cut a trench into the mound which has already reached a level approximately dated to about 2000 B.C., thus well beyond the Philistine period. At this comparatively early level were found burials of the time of the Hyksos (about 1800–1600 B.C.). No Philistine remains are mentioned as having been encountered on the way. The stratification of the mound having thus been ascertained, the work of dissecting it stratum by stratum was begun, and therefore the results of the first season's work are chiefly of the Arab, Byzantine and Roman periods, and appear to be very interesting. Eventually, the Philistine stratum will no doubt be reached, unless the occupation by the foreign

garrison (*naṣīb*, as the Hebrews called it) was too short to have left much trace, as is of course possible.

This is the ideal way of excavating a *tell*, and the possession of ample funds allows it to be carried out thoroughly.

We, owing to lack of funds, are compelled to adopt a more modest programme. It is not proposed to proceed with work at Askalon but to make a tentative examination of five *tells* at Gaza and in its neighbourhood, with a view to eventual concentration on the most promising of the five. On the *tell* that bids fair to be the most important we propose to spend the sum of £100, and on the four others £50 each, at present; the total sum available for excavation being only £300. It is specially intended to examine the ceramic remains brought to light and to ascertain their relationship to the pottery of Askalon and other neighbouring sites. One hopes, too, that some light may be thrown upon the history of these sites, and on the problem of their identity. It will, of course, be only a partial examination, but apart from the question of money, the time that Prof. Garstang and Mr. Phythian Adams can spare for our work at present is very limited.

This fact makes it incumbent upon us to consider seriously the question of having our own director of excavations, paid by us, and giving us his whole time while actually excavating; an arrangement which would now no doubt be more satisfactory than the present one, not only to us but also to the Director of the British School at Jerusalem himself. There are plenty of promising openings for our work if it can only be carried on on the large scale of that of the Americans at Beisan. But for this, as well as for the payment of our own director of excavations, the money is urgently needed.

We hope to effect some saving on publications by letting the "Annual" take the place of one of the numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*. It has been decided to publish all the results of the work at Askalon together with this season's results as an "Annual" in 1923.

It had been hoped that work would have begun this spring, but Prof. Garstang is unable to begin operations till the autumn. We hope that the modest programme which he has recommended to us under the circumstances will prove productive of interesting and important results, and that an increase in our funds will enable us in the near future to prosecute it on a more extensive scale. It should not be impossible to raise enough money to do this, so that we may look forward to a steady progress in the work to which we have set our hands.

With renewed apologies for my absence,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
H. R. Hall.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT ASKALON.

By Prof. J. Garstang, D.Sc.

A Summary.

The object of this brief report is to give a résumé of the work done and the results obtained during the two seasons of excavation at Askalon, 1921—1922, without entering into a discussion of detail or of theories. Further evidence, both direct and comparative, will be forthcoming, it is to be anticipated, as a result of the present year's work now about to commence, so that the fuller discussion can only be profitably undertaken at a later stage, after maturer study, with all the facts in view.

The work done resolves itself readily into three parts:—

a. General Survey and Exploration of the Site.

b. Excavation of the area and substructures of the public building now revealed as Herod's Cloisters (formerly called shortly the "Tycheion"), with the adjacent "Basilica" and the later Theatre and Mosque.

c. Search for traces of the Philistines and other early settlers.

I. The General Survey began with the preparation of a Surface Chart to a scale of 1 : 2000, here reproduced for ready reference from the *Q.S.* of April, 1921, on a scale of about 1 : 5000. Plans of visible and excavated buildings are being prepared to a scale of 1 : 200, and details to 1 : 100. The visible superficial remains include the great rampart of semi-circular form abutting upon the sea, crowned with mediæval masoned walls, in which there are evident traces of repair and destruction consistent with the Chronicles of the Crusades. The date of the underlying earthen ramparts has not yet been ascertained. They seem to be much older, and may well belong to the period of the migrations which brought the Philistines, or to the Hyksos Period. (Plate II, 1.)

The enclosure, with its ramparts of beaten earth, is indeed comparable with the great camps of more regular form which have been indicated at Tell el-Yahudieh on the Egyptian frontier, near Homs in Syria, and further east in the Merv Oasis, Turkestan.

ASKALON
WELL
BAB GAZA
BAB YAFA
BAB EL QUDS
WALLS
PRE ROMAN
ROMAN
BYZANTINE
ARAB
CRUSADER
MODERN
Scale : Metres

The camp near Homs was associated in some way with the Hittites, and the ramparts defending the southern approaches to the Hittite capital at Boghaz Keui in Asia Minor are of similar appearance and character, though they have been reinforced at some date by a revetment of stone.

The knoll rising by the sea within this area was apparently the oldest and the most defensible portion of the enclosure from the beginning down at any rate to early Roman times. While we have not yet traced the foundations of the citadel such as Rameses II assailed—according to contemporary Egyptian pictures—there can remain little doubt that it crowned this knoll, and that the development of the city was by marked stages of expansion, of which the terraces roughly perpetuate the outline, until in Hellenistic times it enclosed the whole knoll. Thereafter, with the rapid prosperity heralded by the Roman freedom, it spread out over the more level ground within the broad circuit of the ramparts and over the northern knoll as well. For this reason there is nothing visible upon the surface of Pre-Roman date; but of this and later periods there are abundant traces. Nearly every field contains fragments of columns or bases or capitals, and the nature and date of the various buildings can be sometimes guessed from the distribution of these remains. There is a fine group of granite columns lying at the junction of the cross roads (Field 151). Local accounts indicate that they belonged to the "temple of Jupiter" which was revealed last century.

The site of the Bir Ibrahîm, the Well of Abraham, spoken of by many writers from Origen and Eusebius, is practically certain, and it is indicated in the Plan by the circular depression No. 88 (Plate III) in Field 80. Here we have examined the surface, but the remains are fragmentary and clearly of mediæval date. At this age, our authority states, broad steps descended to a chamber, and on all four sides of this chamber were springs of water gushing out from stone conduits. Excavations in Field 61 have shown that as early as Hellenistic times the Well of Ibrahîm was an important focus of interest in the town, for an avenue of columns has been found heading directly towards it. The suggestion is still preserved by the modern lane at this point. It is in fact interesting to speculate how possibly it perpetuates the memory and part of the site of the more ancient Sacred Lake which was still extant at the time of Diodorus Siculus.

The apsidal Byzantine church in Fields 5, 24 (described in the *Q.S.* for January, 1921), and the remains of Crusaders' buildings in Field 86 and at Point IX (on the northern knoll) are the most conspicuous surface landmarks within the ramparts. Four small columns are still standing, apparently as they were placed, near survey Point VII inside the eastern wall, south of the Bab el-Kuds (or Jerusalem Gate): doubtless they indicate a small church of Crusaders' date, but the excavation has not yet reached this spot.

The exploration of the site as a whole, for a kilometre at least beyond the radius of the ramparts, has been pursued continuously in search of traces of early interments which would have thrown light swiftly upon the object of our quest. But while tombs of Roman date are plentiful and those of Hellenistic age (*c.* 300 B.C.) not uncommon, no trace has been found of any burials—whether by cremation or by inhumation—of an earlier date, except upon the central knoll. It can only be inferred—subject to further results—that the burials of Philistine and earlier date took place in the ground outside the central acropolis since occupied by the Roman city and hence most difficult of access.

It only remains to say, as regards the site as a whole, that numerous soundings have been made and trenches cut, here, there and everywhere, to ascertain the broad outline of topographical development as described above. The site is large, as the map shows, and it has not yet been possible in all cases to synthesize the results.

II. Fields 61, 67 and 52.

In this area, as already indicated (*Q.S.*, January, 1921), there were indications of an important public building, evidenced by the architectural caryatid statues adorned with the mural crown, and by the foundations partly excavated in 1921. There was already the suggestion of a theatre, constructed upon the outline of an apsidal building, and of the Well of Peace, which it enclosed, as described by Antoninus Martyr.

Consequently the excavation of this building has been continued to its full extent both north and south. The stoutly built apse of a basilica or "Curia" in the south of Field 61, seems to have been the main feature of early Roman date. To this Herod the Great added sumptuous marble colonnades and cloisters as a sort of forecourt and main entrance. The whole overlay and completely

I.—Ashkelon. General View of the Ramparts.

II.—Corinthian Capital.

replaced the previous avenue of columns heading for the Bir Ibrahîm. When the apsidal basilica was ruined, at any rate on or about the fourth or fifth century, its form suggested the convenient hemispherical foundation for a theatre which was then constructed. The fallen statue of Peace, which with the great statue of Victory over the World had flanked the entrance to the Basilica, and the presence of a well, gave rise perhaps to the account which Antoninus Martyr recorded in the sixth century of a Well of Peace surrounded by steps in the form of a theatre. But it is possible to suppose that he was referring to the Well of Abraham, and that the identification or the description has become confused. After the theatre had been razed the still rounded contour suggested to the new Arab population the *mihrab* for their great mosque. A close study of the floor levels and constructive changes over the whole area seems to indicate that the last stage saw one of the famous Mosques of Askalon rising upon this historic position. Probably, as will be seen from the quotations below, it was called the Mosque of Omar.

When using the term "basilica" in connection with this apsidal structure and Herod's Cloisters it should be observed that a close study of the evidence and comparison with other buildings of similar kind, like those of Samaria and Gerasa, may make it possible to advance our results a step further and to identify the original apsidal structure as the "Bouleuterion" or Meeting Place of the Senate, corresponding to the Council Chamber of our own cities. Herod's Cloisters would form the decorative approach, the whole arrangement corresponding to classical precedent such as Vetruvius and others described. The "Bouleuterion" normally adjoined the agora. The preservation of the tiers of seats in the reconstruction of the apse bears out this interpretation, which seems to be confirmed by the discovery of the tablets recording decisions of the Senate or *boulē* in the adjoining cloister. (*P.E.F. Quarterly Statement* for January, 1922.)

The apse of a basilica (by which was meant the exchange and lawcourt) was in fact usually enclosed in the architectural area, and the whole was roofed. The design in the present case shows an open court added as a decorative approach and enclosing an agora in the front of the Council Chamber. It remains for further investigation to show whether this identification is borne out in detail.

The following references (gleaned from Mr. Phythian Adams, History of Askalon, *Q.S.*, April, 1921) will now be read in their full significance :—

Josephus, *c.* 20 B.C.	"For the people of Askalon Herod built . . . . colonnades that were admirable for their workmanship and size."
Antoninus, A.D. 560.	". . . A Well of Peace, built after the manner of a theatre, in which you descend by steps actually to the water."
Biladhûri, A.D. 685.	"The Greeks raided and destroyed Askalon and its mosque. The Caliph Abd el-Melik rebuilt the city, fortified it, and rebuilt the mosque also."
Mukaddasi, A.D. 985.	"The Great Mosque stands in the Market of the Clothes Merchants and is paved throughout with marble."
Nasis, A.D. 1049.	"An Arch that was ancient . . . and had been part of a mosque . . . . . built of mighty stones."
Ibn Batûtah, A.D. 1355.	"A beautiful mosque at Askalon, built by one of the Caliphs as the inscription over the gate still shows. To the south of this is a large mosque called the Mosque of Omar, of which nothing now remains but its walls ; *but there are many fine marble columns, some standing and some fallen down.* To the south of Askalon are the Wells of Abraham. You descend to these by broad steps leading to a chamber. On all four sides of the chamber are springs of water gushing out from the stone conduits."

It remains to add a description of Herod's marble cloisters, already famous, as we have seen, in their day, and later the substructure and foundations apparently of the Mosque of Omar. The length of the colonnade was 87 metres. The cloister was about 5 metres in width, so that the whole building was more than 90 metres or 100 yards long in exterior measurement. The columns were 76 cms. in diameter ; the bases were of Attic design well proportioned, and the capitals were Corinthian, of fine 1st century style and workmanship. Each column was raised, after the Syrian style of the period, on its separate pedestal, giving a total height of about

[*To face p.* 116.

III.—Bir Ibrahîm. The Commencement of the Excavations.

11 diameters. There is room for 32 columns on each wing and eight such at each face. The material was a white-grey marble, probably Greek in origin: some of the special columns were veined. (Plate II, II.) The main entrance to the north seems to have been open. That to the south led directly into the apse of the Senate House between the pair of fine statues Peace and Victory standing upon the World, borne on the shoulders of Atlas. There appears to have been a similar entrance in the middle of each side. The walls were lined with marble and alabaster, with tracery windows, and occasional niches and shrines of the same material; in these were statues and statuettes and commemorative inscriptions. Portions of a giant statue presumed to be that of Herod, another of Apollo, and fragments of others, have been recovered. More beautiful are a small statuette of a kneeling Venus (like the prototype now in the Louvre) and one of a draped woman leaning sideways and backwards, supporting possibly some weight. Numerous other fragments of sculpture and decorative art have been recovered and remain for study. It may be added that the fragments of Arab faïence found over the surface of this area prove to include some of the earliest and most valuable examples of that art.

The last stages in the history of this historical spot are sad to relate. The Crusaders made use of the columns, bases and capitals to build their fortified walls, and later the Turks used Askalon as a stone quarry. The signs of vandalism are only too apparent—traces of the saw that cut up statues and pedestals for marble slabs, or, worse, to burn for lime. This wanton destruction had been going on for generations down to living memory, so that what remains is only a fractional indication of one of the really great monuments of antiquity.

III.—The Search for the Philistines.

Reference has already been made to the search for Philistine tombs or interments in the areas around the ramparts, and the difficulty of penetrating to the Philistine levels between the acropolis and the ramparts has become now self-evident. In Field 177 a determined effort was made, however, to cut down (somewhat ruthlessly) through the foundations of Arab, Byzantine and Roman buildings, to the underlying levels, in the hope of disclosing some architectural remains of the Philistine Period. In this respect, however, the result was disappointing, and the effort

showed plainly that this method of "frontal attack" within the walls of Askalon would prove in any case less satisfactory and probably less fruitful than some more studied plan. The great trench of 40 metres by 10 was dug, narrowing as it descended, to a depth of 8 metres—as deeply as was safe—only to arrive with great difficulty at the pre-Hellenistic stratum. The making and re-making of foundations had also so disturbed the stratifications that evidence of position derived from this section could not be relied on without comparison. In other positions, however, very successful cuttings have been made in the face of the mound, giving reliable stratifications. That on the northern scarp in Field 163 which Mr. Phythian Adams supervised in 1920 has already been described by him in *Q.S.*, Oct., 1921. It gave a clear picture of the superposition and cleavage of the several and successive great periods, notably the pre-Philistine, the Philistine, the Hellenistic, the Graeco-Roman, Byzantine and Arab. Having been able by direct evidence to recognize these levels, the fragments of pottery and other objects found in them became the first criteria by which to test and establish results of other similar soundings. Thus armed, we cut down half of the field numbered 19, which fronts the sea, to the bottom, nearly to sea-level. This cutting was done with deliberation and method, and was again entrusted to Mr. Phythian Adams, who is still studying the results in the light of previous and other evidence. He will in due course publish his detailed report and scientific conclusions. Broadly it may be said that the affinities to the pre-Philistine settlers are recognizable, with a distribution centering (upon present evidence) in Cyprus and ranging through Syria as far as Egypt. The Philistine affinities are, however, unknown. The distinctive pottery fragments, &c., are numerous and are carefully noted for future reference. They are not of a known Egyptian character, nor are they Cypriote or Hittite or Cretan. They are in some ways similar in general character to sub-Mycenaean or Late Minoan wares (Class L. M., III *b*), but this resemblance only confirms their date. The finger of probability must point to some unexplored spot in the North-eastern Mediterranean, presumably upon or near the coast of Asia Minor for their source or inspiration, some spot which the culture of the Aegean would affect but did not dominate.

In this absence of comparative material—which was in fact to have been anticipated—no certain conclusion can as yet be indicated.

When one considers, moreover, the records of the great migration which heralded the arrival of the Philistines upon the threshold of Egypt in the reign of Rameses III, and takes into account the episodes of the movement, the long, struggling, adventurous journey around the coast, it would not be surprising to find little or nothing in the earliest strata of Philistine occupation to represent the culture of their homeland, unless it were their arms which they would not relinquish and which were not subject to ordinary accidents. It is the contact re-established after settlement, and the coming of fresh settlers of their kind, that would leave more common traces. Consequently it is possible that our earliest material is not the most distinctive. If, however, tombs of the early Philistines can be found with some good examples of their armour, we shall add greatly to the essential element of our evidence. We can also proceed at once to determine by soundings the area of Philistine occupation in successive centuries as indicated by the distribution of their remains already identified; and in the course of this investigation over a more extended field we may hope for some new material clues which may be recognized and followed up with increasing prospect of success.

NOTES ON ANCIENT WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

By Major-General Sir Charles Warren, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S., etc.

The publication by Mr. Pilcher of Mr. Raffaeli's bronze weight from Petra (*Q.S.*, April, pp. 71–73) suggests a reconsideration of some of the problems of ancient weights and measures, in particular that of the use of the multiple of 7.

Without a fixed standard for comparison, weights and measures in the past would be of little value to us; but with one standard all over the world, running on through the ages, they form an accurate

record connecting our present-day operations with prehistoric times. We do possess, though inadequately recognised, an absolutely accurate standard of comparison, by which our weights and measures can be tested; but though recognised, it has hitherto been made little use of. Even the highest authorities who have written on weights and measures appear to be hopelessly at variance, and differ greatly in their results, but this is only apparent.

In fact, the best authorities closely agree, and their differences are due to their studying weights and measures at different times in history, in different parts of the world, and amongst different races. With a knowledge of the correct standard of comparison, it will be found that all these differences can be synchronised. Throughout the ages, until the time of the Roman Empire, all weights and measures were arranged on fixed principles and in fixed proportions one to another. They were regarded as a sacred trust, and nations venerated the national systems of their rivals, knowing that for trade purposes and tribute their fixed ratios must be maintained.

There were originally only three systems, which are still in use in a modified form, and they owed their existence to the methods of computation of original peoples. (1) The development of numbers by 4 and 5, adopted by Aryan and northern races in Asia and Europe, led to the use of the so-called Euboic system in Greece, Egypt, and China, giving us the pint, gallon, bushel, and quarter. (2) The use of 3, 4, and 5 as multiples gave us the Eginetan or sexagesimal system, and the double cubit cubed, the Artaba and the Log. (3) The Sumerian system, taking 6/7ths of the double cubit cubed, gave us the cubic metre (almost the same as in the modern metrical system), the double pound of 60 cubic inches, and the cubic inch of 250 grains Troy.[1] These three systems developed and struggled with each other in the hands of rival nations, the northern races by force constantly imposing their primitive system on the more elaborate and scientific systems of the Babylonians.

In order to prove that all the weights and measures of the world, up to the time of the Roman Empire, were derived from one source and standard, *the diameter of the earth*, we will consider the circular measures most familiar to us, namely, latitude and

[1] All inches mentioned are Imperial inches unless otherwise stated.

longitude, and the divisions of the great circle into degrees, minutes, seconds, and feet. We are all so familiar with these that we forget their immense antiquity. We know that we have derived them from the Greeks, but we are apt to forget that we get them through the Greeks from the Eastern Babylonians, who evolved them at a very remote period, when the grain of barley took the place of the Rati and the numeral 3 was introduced as a multiple, at least 3,000 years B.C.

Aristotle has related (*c.* 330 B.C.) that the most early measures of the earth's circumference (earlier than the sexagesimal system) were adopted by Thales, in Greece, from the Babylonians (*c.* 600 B.C.); Aristotle himself received the Babylonian records of the sexagesimal system from Babylonia about 330 B.C. This was nearly one hundred years before Eratosthenes of Cyrene measured an arc of the meridian from Syene to Alexandria (*c.* 220 B.C.). It is clear then that in the early days of the Greeks the lengths of a degree and consequently of a Stade and foot were known, and the circumference of the earth could be computed, just as we can compute it now if we know the length of a Greek Stade or Greek foot.

Of the many computations of the Stade (600 Greek feet) and of the Greek foot by experts, from remains in Greece and elsewhere, I take that of Philip Smith, given in W. Smith's "Greek and Roman Antiquities." He shows that the Greek and Roman feet were in the proportion of 25 : 24, and thus obtains his results from both Greek and Roman remains; and he arrives at the conclusion that the Greek foot was 12·145 inches, and the Greek Stade $606\frac{3}{4}$ English feet, or 7,281 inches. There is so little difference between his results and those of other experts that they may be said to agree. The length of the Stade, I have also obtained by deductive analysis, is 7,275 inches (difference 1 in 1,000). Now the Stade being 1/10th of a minute of arc, we can compute a great circle of latitude of the earth as 15,714,000,000 inches, and by use of 22/7 for π we have a result of 499,990,000 inches for the polar diameter of the earth.

The subject of the length of the diameter of the earth as known to the ancients has occupied the astronomers for many years past. Sir John Herschel, in 1869, pointed out that if the polar axis of the earth was divided into 500,000,000 geometrical units or inches, the geometrical inch would be to the Imperial inch as 999 to 1,000, and Mr. Piazzi Smyth pointed out in 1890 that the earth's axis of

rotation measures 500,500,000 Imperial inches. It will be seen then that the measures of Greece and elsewhere give to the unit or inch of early days a length almost identical with that of the present day, the difference being 1 in 1,000. We may assume then that in the weights and measures of the ancients the diameter of the earth was used as their standard and the inch as their unit of measure. We may now probe still further into the past, to the beginning of the establishment of sexagesimal measures, but before the circle was divided into 360 degrees.

We have the statement of Aristotle that the early measure of the circumference of the earth was 400,000 Stades, so that each quadrant was divided into 100,000 Stades of 3,928·5 inches, or 10 million double cubits of 39·285 inches, as in the metrical system; the Babylonian to the modern metre being as 39·285 : 39·370. Aristotle also refers to 1,111 Stades to a degree. This number (of 1,111) marks the change from the (80) and (100) systems of the Euboic to the (60) system of the Eginetan :—400 × 1,000 = 400,000 Stades and 360 × 1,111 = 399,999 = 400,000 Stades. It is therefore apparent that in very early days the circumference of the earth was divided as it is now on the metrical system, and that the double cubit was almost identical with the present metre.

This is confirmed by the excavations of de Sarzec and others in Babylonia.[1] The ancient unit of the Babylonians is given by Prof. Kennedy as 39·250 inches. I make it (from de Sarzec's plan of the Statue of Gudea) as 39·276, and Hommel tells us that this double cubit cubed was divided into 1,000 parts or minas, each weighing a *litre* or about 60 cubic inches of water, just as in the modern metrical measures. Actual weight, 15,600 G.T.

Prof. F. Petrie (art. "Weights and Measures," Ency. Brit.), speaking of the Attic system of measures, says "the best data are the stone slabs each with several standard volumes cut in them." I have no doubt that this was the custom, all over the world, from the earliest times, the furlong or Stade being laid down on buildings as a linear standard, and the volumes cut in stone in the form of Sarcophagi. The most noted and conspicuous measure of ancient times is the Great Pyramid of Gizeh in Egypt. The ancient building cubit is the standard of measure in the King's and Queen Chambers, and the base is in length 220 double

[1] See articles: Babylonia, Money, Weights and Measures (Hastings, Bib. Dict.).

cubits of $41\frac{2}{9}$ or 9,068·8 inches, and the building stones average 70,000 C.I. in volume. For the circumstances under which this volume of 70,000 C.I. arose, see p. 10, *Early Weights and Measures.* It arose out of the exigencies of early numeration, and as it is fixed in stone we have to take it as we find it.

In the method of calculating in early days, without the use of decimals and the Arabic numerals, and with the use of only a limited number of fractions, it was difficult to extract the cube root of or to cube a given quantity accurately. 41·2 cubed is 70,048 C.I., and even now we can get no nearer approach to the cube root of 70,000 with a small fraction than $41\frac{2}{9}$. The ancients, with their octogental system of reckoning with 4 and 5 as multiples, could not get nearer to 70,000 than 69,120. The Babylonians with the additional multiple of 3 approximated much more closely and arrived at 69,984, only 16 short of 70,000. These two amounts are to each other as 80 : 81, and the first is exactly 40 cubic feet and the second exactly 40·5 cubic feet. The first (69,120 C.I.) represents 4 quarters of 8 bushels of 80 pounds of 27 C.I., the bushel being consequently 2,160 C.I. The Winchester bushel being 2,178 C.I. and 2,150 C.I. = 2,164 C.I. (Chaney, *Our Weights and Measures*) and 2,150·42 C.I. (Buchanan). This close approximation shows how carefully our English weights and measures have been preserved. Our old commercial pound of 6,750 G.T. and Tower pound of 5,400 G.T. are exactly correct.

The second volume of 69,984 C.I. has been equally well preserved to recent times. Divided by 27, we have the well-known Babylonian or Alexandrian talent of 2,952 C.I., and by 30 the Artaba of 2,332·8. Petrie gives 2,300 and 2,380 C.I. for very late varieties of the Artaba in the East. All the sub-divisions of the sexagesimal system, the Greek and Roman pounds, are close approximations to those obtained from the double cubit cubed. The most striking approximation is the identity of our cubic yard with two-thirds of the double cubit cubed.

Cubic yard	46,656 C.I.
Add ½ (10 Artabas)	23,328 C.I.
The double cubit cubed ...	69,984 C.I.

There is only one point about which there is a discrepancy and that is in the weight of the Troy grain. It has lost about 1 per cent. in weight for at least 2,000 years, and whether this is due to errors,

or to some pressure of northern races on Babylon, has yet to be found out. It may be taken as quite certain that the original division was 250 grains Troy to the cubic inch of water, as the ancients could not have calculated 252·5 G.T. to the cubic inch.

So far we have looked upon weights and measures only from the point of view of the inch and its multiples, linear and solid. We must now consider the subject briefly from the point of view of weight in grains, the original weight of ancient people.

The Rati or Gunga seed (wild liquorice) was the first seed used, and is still used as a weight for gold in India and Africa. Ages after this, when corn was grown in the uplands of the East, and in the plains of Babylonia, the grains of wheat and barley came into use and superseded Rati amongst sexagesimal races, but the Rati weights have been used amongst northern races till quite modern times. The proportions (since the inch was established) are 32 Rati = 64 wheat = 48 barley = 54 O.G.T. = 54·54 G.T. This was the universal first weight of the world, the Ducat of Europe, the Veraha or Purana of India.

The elaboration of what now seems so simple a matter occupied my attention for several years, from 1903 to 1910. In *The Ancient Cubit* (1902) I could not get further back in the ancient records, beyond the sexagesimal measures; but when the book was published I saw plainly that there was an ancient *hinterland* of octogintal measures to which records of the past gave no access, and I conceived the idea of beginning at the beginning and working down through the ages just as the ancients did themselves; and I was completely successful. I tried to divest myself of all knowledge, except of woodcraft and the heavens, and assumed two positions, that of the intelligent aboriginal as representing the people, and that of the calculator and observer as representing the Temple Priests.

Starting as an aboriginal I tried various forms of multiples, but could make no progress till I worked by *heaps* (as in the Rhind Papyrus) and with this as the keynote I solved the mysteries. My world in which I located myself was too young for multiples, and I had at first only the numeral 2 to start with. I simply added heap to heap. 2 to 2 = 4, 4 to 4 = 8. 8 to 8 = 16 and 16 to 16 = 32 Rati. This gave us the first small weight, the Veraha or Purana of the East. On we went till we arrived at 512 Rati, and now the business was so laborious that we put the

512 Rati into cubes and cylinders and, being now able to multiply, we doubled the height and radius, thus multiplying by 8 each time. The first result was 4,096 Rati (6,912 Troy grains), a very convenient weight for general use as a pound; again by 8 and 8 and we had 64 pounds, the burden of a man.

Now as a calculator I found that the sum of 4,096 was intolerably tedious, and we (in my two functions) agreed to cut off the 96 and so made 4,000 Rati to a pound. And thus we had arrived at the multiple of 5. About this time we found that a cube or cylinder of water weighing 4,000 Rati was about equal to a cube or cylinder of grain of one-quarter more bulk, and so we elaborated the pint equal to $1\frac{1}{4}$ pounds of water, or 5,000 Rati. In the meantime my colleagues, the calculators, had arrived at the unit of the inch, already mentioned, and it was found that water of the weight of 4,000 Rati just fitted into a 3-inch cube, with a little picking of the seed; and consequently the weight of 5,000 Rati to a pint of water was one-quarter more than 3-inch cube. 80 pounds or 64 pints gave a bushel of 2,160 C.I. and 8 bushel gave a quarter of 17,280 C.I. or 10 cubic feet. And in later times four quarters of 40 cubic feet gave the Aryan double cubit cubed of 69,120 C.I.

We now came to the use of 3 barleycorns to 2 Rati, and we found the pint measures of the Aryan or northern races would not suit the multiple of 3. The cylinder of the quarter (10 feet), equal height and diameter, when quadrupled gave a cylinder of radius and height of 28 inches, and when calculated for volumes brought out 70,000 C.I. (This is due to the use of 50 for diameter of cylinder and 22/7 for π. See "Early Weights and Measures," p. 10.)

I have already shown that the Aryans and Babylonians could not get nearer to 70,000 than 69,120 and 69,984 C.I. These two volumes were now used as the great units of volume and the progression was downwards. Half quarters, half bushels and half gallons came into use by necessity; the comb, tovit, pottle, and gill. In the sexagesimal systems the double cubit cubed was divided by 27 and 30, yielding the Babylonian or Eginetan talent of 2,592 C.I. (648,000 G.T.) and the Artaba of 2,332 C.I., and dividing the talent of 648,000 G.T. by 100, 80, and 64, we get the Greek pound of 6,480, and others. In the east of Babylonia, as already stated, the Sumerian elaborated another system, 6/7ths of 70,000 C.I., namely, 60,000 C.I., giving the cubic metre and its side of 39·285 inches, as already alluded to.

In all these weights and measures there is no trace of the use of 7 except in 22/7 for π, and consequently 28 for the length and radius of cylinder.

The early Aryan, Babylonian, and Sumerian systems (existing side by side) were now complete and were introduced into Europe under the names of Euboic, Eginetan, and Phoenician at an early date. But they were disturbed and thrown out of gear in Babylonia by an incursion of northern tribes about 2000 B.C. (see Appendix I). There was also in Assyria, about 1100 B.C. (owing to northern influence) a reduction of the Eginetan Mina or log from 8,100 G.T. to 8,000 G.T.

I can find no use of the multiple 7 in weights and measures till a comparatively late period (2000 B.C.), and then it was forced on the Babylonians or Sumerians as a matter of necessity. But the use of 7 in calculating must have been in use even before the multiple of 3 came in.

(1) In the computation of the cylinder of volume equal to the double cubit cubed, the diameter and height of the cylinder was 28 inches, and the volume was 70,000 C.I., but this arose from the use of 22/7 for π. From this it is apparent that the use of the cylinder came in after the value of π had been changed from the Aryan $(\frac{4}{5})^4$ to the Babylonian (22/7). Petrie points out (*Pyramid of Gizeh*) that the stones of which the Pyramid is built average 70,000 cubic inches in volume. (2) The next use of the numeral 7 was in the Pyramid coffer, whose bulk was 69,984 C.I. and volume of interior space 72,576 C.I., as 27 : 28. I think that the coffer was possibly introduced into the Pyramid about the time of Hammurabi. (3) The first use of the numeral 7 as a multiple by the general public was very late, say after 2000 B.C., when some northern race (possibly the Kassites) overran Babylonia and forced on the people the use of the Euboic pint (see Appendix I). (4) The following appear to be cases where the use of 7 follows from its use in No. 3 : (*a*) In Spain a pound of about 7,000 G.T. is found (see Appendix II). (*b*) In India the multiple of 7 under the Moslems was the rule (see Appendix III). (*c*) In Constantinople the Eginetan pound of 6,480 G.T. was converted into the Pois de Marc by adding one-sixth, thus making it exactly equal to the Babylonian pound of same number of grains ($\frac{3}{4}$ Eginetan) (see Appendix I). (*d*) This Paris Pois de Marc of 7,560 G.T. was brought to Paris in the middle ages, and passed on into England as our avoirdupois

weight about A.D. 1400 (see Appendix IV). Subsequently our pound of 6,750 G.T. was raised to 7,000 G.T. (Appendix IV). (*e*) Finally, in the remains of Egypt the Kat of 135 G.T. became 140, and the uten 1,400 G.T. a double pound of 14,000 G.T. (see Appendix V).[1]

APPENDICES.

I.

The Multiple 7 *in Babylonia.*—Prof. Kennedy (art. "Money," Hastings, Bib. Dict.) gives the Babylonian-Phoenician weight system as in intimate relation to the Egyptian Kat of 140 G.T. (*c.* 2000 B.C.). He instances four Babylonian shekels, three 50 to the mina and one 60 to the mina, as respectively 6/5ths, (2) 9/10ths, and 4/5ths of the Egyptian Ket of 140 G.T. All these minas are 60 to a talent. I have shown elsewhere (*Early Weights and Measures*, Table XXXIX) that these minas are all portions of a revised pint of 5,000 Rati, equal to 8,437·5 G.T. in the proportion of 60 (6/5ths), 45 (9/10ths), 50 (9/10ths × 6/5ths), 50 (1), 40 (4/5th), with a reduction of about 0·5 % to make the amount divisible by 7. So that each mina weighs in grains Troy 140 multiplied by the number of pints of corn in the Table. For example, the talent of 60 pints has a mina of 8,437·5 G.T., and thus became 8,400 G.T. (= 60 × 140 G.T.).

The cause of these proportions in the pint talents is quite evident and shows that the invading race was content to take the Babylonian proportions so long as in their minas they had fractions of the pint that they could comprehend.

It is evident that on the arrival of the northern invaders there were the following talents in use at 60 minas to a talent. The pound being 9,000 G.T., 60 lb. Euboic, 45 lb. $\frac{3}{4}$ Euboic, 54 lb. $\frac{3}{4}$ Eginetan, 50 lb. Gudean or Phoenician, 40 lb. $\frac{3}{4}$ Gudean. The western Babylonians were forced to reduce their talents $\frac{995}{1000}$ so as to bring them near to the pint measures. For example, the 60 lb. of 9,000 G.T., 540,000 G.T., became 518,200, with a mina of 8,640 G.T., as compared with a pint of 8,437·5 G.T. This the western Babylonians could do, using the barley grain. But the Sumerian Babylonians, with the Troy grain, were forced to adopt another method. They lopped off about 0·5 % to make the pint measures divisible by 7. Thus 8,437·8 became 8,400 G.T. Owing to all the talents being in exact proportion one to another, all minas and shekels were then divisible by 7. I conclude then that the Babylonians did not use the mutliple of 7 by preference, but were forced to do so by necessity.

[1] The Rhind Papyrus (1600 B.C.) shews the Building Cubit as divided into seven palms; also the cubits of the Nileometer (of comparatively late date) does the same.

TABLE SHEWING CONVERSION OF ORIGINAL TALENTS TO PINT MEASURE.

The number of pints in each Talent are given under the column of Northern Races: for example, 60 pints of 84,375 G.T. = 506,250 G.T.

	Original Talents.				Western Babylonia.		Northern Races.		Sumerian Babylon.		
				100	96						
			Proportion.		Talents.		Pints of Grain.	Talent.	Talent.	Minas.	Proportion.
	C.I.	C.I.			G.T.	G.T.			G.T.	G.T.	
(4) 80 × 27	2,160	Euboic ...	100	540,000	518,000	—	60	506,250	504,000	84,000	6/5ths.
(3) 60 × 27	1,620	„ ...	75	405,000	388,800	Attic	45	379,687	378,000	63,000	9/10ths.
(4) 80 × 32·4	2,592	Eginetan	120	—	—	—	72	—		Not used.	
(3) 60 × 32·4	1,944	„	90	486,000	466,560	late Bab.	54	455,625	453,600	Pois de Marc. 7,560	$\frac{84}{50}$
(5) 60 × 30	1,800	Gudean...	83·3	450,000	432,000	Egypt	50	421,875	420,000	7,000	(1)
(4) 48 × 30	1,440	„ ...	66·6	360,000	345,600	Troy	40	337,500	336,000	5,600	4/3rds.

II.

Weights of about 7,000 *G.T. in S.W. Europe.*—These weights average 7,082, and if they are reduced 1% for loss of weight of Troy grain they would still be 7,012 G.T. or 12 grains over weight. The only other weight to which they may belong is the Moslem rotl, and they are short of that by 118 grains. They are scattered over parts of Spain dominated by the Saracens, but one is found at Geneva and one at Lyons. The following is a list:—

1647.	Greaves' *Roman Foot.*	Gibraltar (2)	7,087 G.T.
1824.	Kelly's *Cambist.*	Portugal ...	7,073 „
		Madeira ...	7,076 „
		Lyons ...	7,087 „
		Geneva ...	7,080 „
		Average...	7,082 „

III.

The Multiple 7 *in India.*—The multiple of 7 is found all over India, in weights and measures, where the Moslems have been ruling, but more particularly in parts where the Rati grain was used. And it appears to have been used to get over the difficulty of applying the Troy grain to the binary measures. The principal measures into which the multiple of 7 is introduced is the original half-pint of 2,560 Rati and the revised pound of 4,000 Rati. In the first case the Catty is 800 seers of 2,560 Rati. A seer is 80 Veraha of 32 Rati, and the Moslems reckoned 56 G.T. to the Veraha. Therefore the seer was 4,480 G.T., and 800 seers were 500 pounds of 7,168 G.T., 34 grains short of the Moslem Rotl of 7,200 G.T. In the second case 27 lb. of 7,000 equalled 28 lb. of 6,750 G.T.[1]

IV.

The Poid de Marc.—The ancient weight of Paris, probably as early as the 10th century, was the Poid de Marc, given in Kelly's *Cambist* (1824) as 7,555·5 G.T., but by Greaves' *Roman Foot* (1647) as 7,560 G.T., and this is no doubt its actual weight as it is in proportion to other ancient weights. We know this weight as having been constructed at Constantinople in

[1] This is what I say in *Early Weights and Measures*:—"The Moslems came to India using a multiple of 7 and the Troy grain. If they wished to adhere to the 32 Rati standard they could only do so by raising the Rati or lowering the grain Troy, and they chose the former. 56 G.T. is the nearest approach to the unit they required, raising the Rati from 1·6875 to 1·75 G.T. The result is that the revised pound of 6,750 G.T. became 7,000 G.T., equal to our avoirdupois pound; and the question presents itself whether the Moslems did not already use the 56 G.T. for the Purana whilst in Europe, and thus pass it on to western Europeans, for we find in Egypt that there was also a pound of 7,000 G.T."

the middle ages, probably to suit Moslems. It is the result of adding one-sixth to the Attic pound of 6,480 G.T., 6,480 + 1,080 = 7,560. It also coincides exactly with the Babylonian mina of 54 pints to the talent (see Table in Appendix I), and was used in Babylonia *c.* 2000 B.C. It also corresponds to the Babylonian pound weight given by Hommel and Kennedy as 7,580 G.T.

The Poid de Marc is the origin of our present avoirdupois weight, and was introduced from Paris in the 14th century (time of Edward III). It was made by increasing our 100 lb. of 6,750 G.T. to 112 as follows :—

100 lb. of Poid de Marc at 7,560 G.T. = 756,000 G.T.
112 lb. of Commercial pound, 6,750 G.T. = 756,000 G.T.

Therefore 20 cwt. of our Commercial pound, 6,750 (2,240 × 6,750 G.T.) = 1,512,000 G.T. = 60,480 C.I., the cubic metre (nearly) of Babylonia.

Since the introduction of avoirdupois weight, probably in time of Henry VIII, when the Tower pound was raised from 5,400 to 5,760 G.T. (the Troy pound), the Commercial pound was raised from 6,750 G.T. to 7,000 G.T. as 27 : 28, but our ton of 20 cwt. is still close on to the French cubic metre, because the latter is about 0·25% above the ancient cubic metre in length.

V.

The Multiple 7 *in Egypt.*—The only remaining point to consider is the origin of the use of the multiple 7 in Egypt, and in the lands between Egypt and Babylonia, with a view, if possible, to throw light on the 5-kat weight recently found at Petra.

I have shown (Appendix I) that the pound of 7,000 G.T. must necessarily have been adopted by people using Eginetan measures and the Troy grain, as it is a means of their using 5/6ths pint under pressure of a tribe using the Rati. But I must point out that it is also $\frac{1}{2500}$ 70,000 C.I. ; the double cubic cubed, also that the old Euboic hon of 6,912 G.T. (4,096 Rati) if raised to Eginetan status 80 : 81 becomes 6,998·4 G.T., only 1·6 grains short of 7,000. I cannot think it originated in Egypt, except under Babylonian influence. The Egyptians of the Delta multiplied by 10 and used Euboic measures so far as they were permitted, and the Kat of 135 G.T. (80 Rati) was in very early use ; 50 to a Euboic pound of 6,750 G.T., and in Ptolemaic times (see Queipo) the Tower pound of 5,400 G.T. was in use, and after the 18th Dynasty the medimnus of 4,665·6 C.I., the double Artaba, also Eginetan, with a pound of 29·16 C.I. (7,290 G.T.). Also the coffer of King's Chamber, in the Great Pyramid, with its Eginetan measures, was inserted in the Great Pyramid about this period.

In Tables IX and X (pp. 44–45), *Early Weights and Measures*, I give the various pounds of the world in use up to the Roman Empire, but the 7,000 G.T. has no direct connection with them ; it is an exotic or sport. At Heliopolis (Petrie, *Weights and Measures*) two weights were found of 139·4 and 141·4 G.T., and the weight 140 ascended by multiples of 10. The Warden of the Standard (1874–5) gives a valuable piece of

information about a weight of 700 G.T., but not of the same shape (also see Madden, *Jewish Coins*, p. 277): 5-kat standard weight, this weight was found in the ruins of Thebes, and is now in the British Museum. The normal weight may be taken to be 700 grains. An account of it was given by M. Chabas in the *Revue Archéologique* (Paris, 1861). Mr. Poole shows that the weights of the Ptolemaic copper coins were based on such units, whilst the weights of the gold and silver were Euboic. The weight is of a dark greenish stone; a sketch of it is given in Madden's *Jewish Coins*. It is inscribed in hieroglyphic "Kat 5 of the Treasure of On, belonging to the King."

Mr. F. L. Griffiths (*Proc. Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, 1894) gives an interesting example of the use of 7 from the Rhind Papyrus (1600 B.C.). It is evidently the precursor of the British 7 wives of St. Ives :—"An old woman had 7 houses, each house had 7 cats, each cat catches 7 rats, each rat eats 7 barley corns, each barley corn produces 7 bushels of corn. How many bushels of corn do the cats save?" Answer, 16,807 = $(7)^5$. Here is another question from the same: The oxherd says, "I am contributing to you $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the oxen you committed to me." Answer, $\frac{2}{3} \times \frac{1}{3} \times 315 = 70$ brought by the oxherd, 315 having been committed to him. This indicates a use of 7 amongst the people.

My conclusion is that after *c.* 2000 B.C. the numeral 7 came into use amongst the people of Egypt, and we must look for this weight of 700 G.T. (as $\frac{1}{10}$ of 7,000 G.T.) amongst tribes like the Egyptian using multiples of 10 and 7.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

Historical Sites in Palestine. By Lieut.-Com. Victor L. Trumper, R.N.R., M.R.A.S.

This little book includes in one cloth-bound volume four pamphlets which were issued during the war especially for the benefit of the members of the "Egyptian Expeditionary Force." To some extent it covers the ground taken by the late George Armstrong's *Names and Places in the Old and New Testament*, but differs from it in giving the modern name first and then the known or suggested Historical associations of the Site. It is a handy pocket

volume which should be of great value to the studious tourist; some of the information he will not readily obtain in the ordinary guide books. It is, however, a condensed summary, and the reader would do well to amplify and check the information by reference to standard works. Possibly as a result of its having been printed abroad, there are a good many misprints, some in large type, e.g., Mahlah for Malhah, Sebbstieh for Sebastieh, Samackonitis for Samachonitis, &c. There are a few statements more seriously open to criticism. For example, Kh. Merash is certainly *not* Mareshah, which was proved by the Palestine Exploration Fund excavations to have been on the site of Tell Sandahannah. The statement that "In ancient times there was no perennial spring in the City of Jerusalem, and the inhabitants were dependent on rain water stored in rock-cut cisterns or in aqueducts," is quite incorrect. It has also been proved for several years that the level of the Dead Sea does *not* vary 16 feet per annum, but only two or three feet. Hyrcanius, fortress at Arak el-Emir was, according to Josephus, called Tyre (Tyros), not Hyrcanium, and the old name of Amman was Philadelphia, not Philadephus. That Capernaum was at Kh. Minieh, or Cana at Kefr Kenna, or the Waters of Merom at Lake Huleh are all extremely doubtful, if not impossible. The identification of Tell el-Mutesellim with the city of Migiddo has now, since recent excavations, been generally accepted by scholars. Kefireh and Katanneh are not identical sites. Many such details require revision.

While, however, pointing out defects, which we trust may receive attention in later editions, we most warmly recommend this handy little book as one which, if studied carefully, is sure to deepen the interest in that aspect of Palestine which must always be considered where the Holy Land is concerned, viz., its "Historical Sites."

E. W. G. M.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.	Hebrew.	English.
א	’	כ ך	kh
ב	b	ל	l
ב	bh	מ	m
ג	g	נ	n
ג	gh	ס	s
ד	d	ע	‘
ד	dh	פ	p
ה	h	פ	f
ו	v, w	צ	z
ז	z	ק	k
ח	h	ר	r
ט	t	ש	sh
י	y	ש	s
כ	k	ת	t
		ת	th

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.
ا	’		ض	d
ب	b		ط	t
ت	t		ظ	tz
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh
ح	h		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	k
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	z		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Committee have just received a most important communication from Prof. Garstang, the Director of the Department of Antiquities in Jerusalem. He states that "with the approval of His Excellency the High Commissioner, an organized effort is to be made to excavate and lay open to the world the historic 'City of David' on Mount Ophel." The researches of the Palestine Exploration Fund, of Dr. Weill, of the Rev. Père Vincent (who acted as honorary archaeologist to the Parker excavations), and others, have now left no doubt but that this hill of "Ophel," south of the temple area, is the site of the original stronghold of Zion, of the palace and citadel of David, and, one may add, of David's Tomb. It is considered that a work of such importance "on a site whose memories are sacred to many nations," should not be trusted to one society or one nation. The Palestine Exploration Fund are invited to co-operate in this work and the Committee are of one mind in deciding that this offer should be accepted. The time is too short for any details to be settled though several important points are under consideration, but the Committee feel that in this enterprize all our members who realize the greatness of the opportunity now open should rally to the assistance of the Fund, by personal contributions and by personal effort, that the British contribution to this enterprize, as represented by the premier Exploration Fund in Palestine, may be worthy of its great traditions. Such a unique opportunity may never occur again. No site at once so ancient and so historic, so bound up with Bible history and so important to our conceptions of early Hebrew history will probably be ever again at our disposal. During the whole existence of the Palestine

Exploration Fund we were never able to obtain through the Turkish Government any concession for excavation which should so greatly stir the imaginations of biblical students everywhere. In the next number of the *Quarterly Statement* we shall hope to give a full account of the history of this site and also to lay some statement before our members as to the details of our share in the enterprize.

Nothing much of importance has occurred since the publication of the last issue of the *Quarterly Statement* to call for attention in these Notes. Much, however, is being done, and from the survey of recent excavation, given below on pp. 157–160, it will be seen that steady progress is being made throughout Palestine and Syria. An interesting point to be borne in mind is the extent and distribution of the investigations; all the important periods of Palestinian history are being illumined. The Old Testament student and the student of the New Testament will each find that something is being contributed to his special field. The later period is not left without a witness, and, as for the early ages before the Israelite monarchy, some very interesting evidence has to be recorded. Nor is it only Palestine that is involved. As Prof. Garstang points out in the new *Bulletin* of the British School, and as Mr. Phythian-Adams brilliantly illustrates, the Palestinian field is a link, as it were, uniting Egypt and Greece; and Palestinian research is able to bring together the work of the Egyptologist and of the labourer in the Aegean field. It is this peculiarly central position of Palestine and Palestinian research which makes our work unique; and it is only right that we should realize that the land which is a meeting-place of continents and civilizations, has a permanent interest for us, whether we are students of the Bible Land, or of Egyptian or Mesopotamian or Aegean and Greek cultures, or whether we are students of history, and interested in our past. When we consider the supreme importance of that relatively small area, the centre of events of such epoch-making significance, we cannot but feel that, in the endeavour to carry on a work that has done, and still is doing, so much to make the past live, and to give the past a new meaning for us, we have very strong claims upon the public.

Lieut.-Com. Trumper, whose book on the *Historical Sites in Palestine* was noticed in the July issue, writes in the *Egyptian Gazette* of August 7th on Palestine exploration, with special reference

to the P.E.F. "Among the many societies," he says, "which are now springing up for the discovery and dissemination of knowledge, both ancient and modern, concerning Palestine, there is a real danger that the father of them all may be overlooked." He comments upon the Fund's appeal for fresh funds to carry out the work of excavation, and his words will, we hope, have the effect of enlisting practical support from Egyptian readers.

In this connection we must accord a hearty welcome to the recently published statement by the well-known Egyptologist, Prof. James Henry Breasted, of the programme of the Oriental Institute of Chicago. In this, the first of the Oriental Institute Communications, dedicated to "our colleagues of the *Société Asiatique* on the one hundredth anniversary of its foundation," he describes the new organisation for the expansion and maintenance of Haskell Oriental Museum of the University of Chicago that "it may serve as a laboratory for the investigation of the career of early man in the Near East . . . . " The organisation of this Oriental Institute, its subsequent development, and the recent large increase in its resources are due to the generosity of Mr. John D. Rockfeller, and in congratulating the Institute on the fine work which it has set out to accomplish, thanks to its benefactor, we must express the hope that some of our wealthy magnates may have the discernment to make so excellent an investment as Mr. Rockfeller has. Prof. Breasted's communication, in 96 pages and 74 figures, is an admirable piece of work in itself; it gives a splendid account of the way in which labour in oriental fields can be organised, and though we read it with a very human tinge of jealousy, we congratulate the Institute on its programme, and on the means to put it into effect, and wish Prof. Breasted and his work every success.

Mr. Samuel Raffaeli has sent an account of a glass intaglio with a female figure and the inscription "to Heth." The figure is thought to represent a Hittite deity, and is reproduced below, p. 179.

Subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund may be interested to hear that the Fund have acquired the remaining copies of *Jerusalem sous Terre*, written by Father Vincent, and published at

the Office of the *Field* Newspaper. This work is profusely illustrated by plans and photographs, and giving as it does a full archaeological review of the excavations in the hill "Ophel," conducted by the Hon. Montague B. Parker, is essential to all those who make a scientific study of the Holy City. The Fund is disposing of these—of which there is only a limited stock—at 5*s.* per copy, or 6*s.* post free.

Subscribers will recollect that the map of the Negeb or Wilderness of Zin, which should have accompanied the 1914–15 Annual, had then to be withheld from publication owing to the War. The Committee are glad to announce that the map has now been prepared for the Fund by the War Office, and a copy will be supplied gratis to those Members desirous of procuring it to complete their record of the 1914 Survey. Applications should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary.

Photo-relief map of Palestine: This popular little map, which is reproduced by collotype process from the well-known raised maps, has been reprinted and is now on sale. It measures (with margin) 29 × 19 inches and contains some hundreds of Biblical names. The price to subscribers is 2*s.* 6*d.*, and to non-subscribers 3*s.*; postage 6*d.* extra.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, pp. 139–140.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid for 1922 will greatly oblige by remitting at once, thereby saving the cost of postal reminder. Subscriptions are due January 1st, and early payment helps to swell the funds for work in the field.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special donations:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Lord Abercromby	50	0	0
General Sir Charles Warren	10	0	0

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 4, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Elihu Grant, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 8, College Lane, Haverford, Pa.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following:—

The Near East: A weekly review of politics, commerce, etc.; June 29, Lord Milner's visit to Petra (illustrated); July 27, An Englishman in Palestine.

Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. VIII, Parts I–II, April: Alabaster vases of the New Kingdom from Sinai, by E. T. Leeds; Antiquity of Egyptian civilization, by Prof. T. Eric Peet; The relation of Marduk, Ashur and Osiris; and Ḳizzuwadna and Ḳade, by Sidney Smith; Excavations at Tell el-Amarna, by C. Leonard Woolley.

Bible and Spade: The Bross Lectures for 1921, by Rev. John P. Peters Ph.D., Sc.D., D.D. (T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1922.)

The Expository Times, July: 30 Years' Progress in Assyriology, by C. J. Gadd.

The Zionist Review.

Palestine.

American Journal of Philology, Vol. XLIII, 3.

American Journal of Archaeology, XXVI, 2.

Jewish Quarterly Review, July: Review by S. S. Cohen of the Zionist Organization's Report on Sanitation in Palestine.

Art and Archaeology.

The Homiletic Review.

Revue Biblique, July: Néby Samouil, by R. P. Vincent; le désert de la Mer, by R. P. Dhorme; la géographie sacrée chez S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie, by R. P. Abel; la Pâque des Samaritains, by J. Creten.

Orientalia, 1921, no. 3. Les Hébreux en Egypte, by Alexis Mallon, S.I.

Biblica, Vol. III, Part 3, La prise d'Aï (Josh. vii), by A. Tricot.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung: Monatsschrift für die Wissenschaft vom ganzen Orient.

The Palestine Weekly.

Bible Lands.

Al-Mashrik, Sept.: Les anciennes défenses de Beyrouth, par le Cte. Du Mesnil du Buisson.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books:—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

Prof. Flinders Petrie's *Tell el-Hesy* (*Lachish*).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. I, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Sir George Arthur, *The Life of Lord Kitchener.*

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE SITE OF IBLEAM.

By W. J. Phythian-Adams, M.A., D.S.O., M.C.

The position of the Canaanite town of Ibleam seems to have been alternately taken for granted and rejected without much examination. Tyrwhitt Drake, for example (*Quarterly Statement*, 1873, p. 101), placed it at the ruins of Bel 'ameh in the wady south of Jenin, and assumed it to be the same as Bileam (1 Chron. vi, 70). He rightly pointed out that as it was situated on the "going up to Gur" (2 Kings ix, 27) it "seems to have been beside a well-known road, and in the direction of the 'Garden House,' which is usually taken to be Jenin."

Conder, however, while admitting the cogency of this argument, was disposed to find the "Garden House" in the present village of Beit Jenn, north of Jezreel, and claimed that a Bel 'ameh existed in that direction also (*Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 182).

In the *Survey*, Vol. II, p. 48, we find yet another proposal. Here the Bel 'ameh near Jenin is identified with Bileam, while Ibleam is placed at Yebla, north of Beisan, a view advanced by Thomson, and since adopted by no less an authority than Sir George Adam Smith. Macalister (*Quarterly Statement*, 1907, p. 129) assumes the identity of Bel 'ameh and Ibleam without discussion, and hence we are left in doubt as to his reasons for disagreeing with the Yebla theory.

No writer, in fact, seems to have studied the question in all its aspects, and there may therefore be room for a further consideration of the problem.

An examination of the map of Esdraelon demonstrates very clearly the fact that we have to deal here with an ancient fortified frontier facing southwards, but also carefully protected on its flanks. From one end of the plain to the other every important pass is guarded by its Tell. On the extreme west, where the Kishon valley narrows, stands the blockhouse of Tell el-Kussis (its size shows that it could have been little more than this), facing, at the other end of the gorge, the similar fortress of Tell 'Amr. Moving eastwards along the southern edge of the plain, we come to the enormous mound of Jokneam (Tell Keimun), which guards the important highroad over the hills to Ludd. The famous route through the Wady Arah is similarly protected by Tell el-Mutesellim, with Tell T'annuk in close support, and if for the moment we skip the

singularly easy defile which leads into the plain at Jenin, we can round off our series on the extreme eastern flank with the mound of Tell Husn (Bethshean), which closed the valley of Jezreel to invaders from Transjordania. The circle of defences is complete, with the one important exception of Jenin. Here we may scan the foothills vainly for any trace of a stronghold such as Ta'anach or Megiddo, or even for a blockhouse like Tell el-Kussis. Rich with perennial springs and luxuriant with palms and tamarisks and orange groves, Ain Gannim, the "Fountain of Gardens," lies to all appearance helpless and unprotected across the threshold of an open door.

Appearances are, however, deceptive. The men who built their fortresses to guard Esdraelon knew better than to be bound by a hard and fast rule. In this case, instead of placing their stronghold on a spur projecting into the plain, they took advantage of the copious springs a mile up the course of the Wady Bel 'ameh, and built it at the junction of two great highroads from the south.

The position has been described by other writers, and little need be added to the latest report, that of Prof. Macalister. Impregnable on three sides, to north, to south, and to east, the great mound is joined by a low saddle to the "mainland" on the west. Here the steep rampart walls fall to a height of fifteen or twenty feet, and finally die away opposite the centre of the neck in an opening which must have afforded the only practicable passage for chariots. It will be noted in this connection that a party closely pursued from the direction of Jenin would have found some difficulty in reaching so inaccessible an entrance, lying as it does up one or other of two steep ravines, and on the side of the town farthest from the main road.

At the foot of the hill on the east is a low Arab archway, and beneath it may be seen the beginning of the rock-hewn tunnel described by Guérin (*Samaria*, I, 341), which led down from the summit to the source of Ain Sinjib, now merely a stagnant pool, but in use less than two years ago, as the present writer can testify. To the north and south of it, near the main road, are two other good springs, which would provide the city with an ample supply of water in time of peace. The Canaanite precaution of driving an interior passage down to a hidden or protected source is already well known from the sites of Gezer and Ophel, and instances will doubtless accumulate with further exploration. The existence of such a tunnel at Bel 'ameh proves its importance as a stronghold: it was expected to endure a siege, and every effort was made to fit it for its duty. In

size not smaller than Gezer, in position hardly less impregnable than Dothan, it must have been worthy to take its place as a frontier fortress with Ta'anach, Megiddo, and Bethshean.

We have now to consider the arguments for identifying this city with Ibleam.

Ibleam (יִבְלְעָם) is mentioned in three passages of the Old Testament.[1]

(*a*) In Josh. xvii, 11, we read that "Manasseh had in Issachar and in Asher Bethshean and her towns, and Ibleam and her towns, and the inhabitants of Dor and her towns, and the inhabitants of En-Dor and her towns, and the inhabitants of Ta'anach and her towns, and the inhabitants of Megiddo and her towns, even three countries" ("the three heights," R.V.).

Here we may note that, while the position of Ibleam is uncertain, coming as it does between Bethshean and Dor, the company in which it is found determines its character as a stronghold, for not only were these all towns which Israel could not capture from the Canaanites, but in all cases where we can locate them with certainty they are just these towns which we have named above as sentinels over the Esdraelon approaches. Ibleam then joins the ranks of Bethshean, Ta'anach and Megiddo, and may be sought for in the passage of some defile.

(*b*) The second reference to Ibleam is in Judges i, 27, where we are told that Manasseh did not drive out the inhabitants of Bethshean, Ta'anach, Dor, Ibleam, or Megiddo. Here the Septuagint (which omits Ibleam altogether in the previous passage quoted) gives the order as "Bethsan, which is Scythopolis, Thanak, Dor, Balak (or Balaam), Magedo, and Ieblaam," which, with the exception of the last named, agrees exactly with our Hebrew versions. It is reasonable to suppose that the Greek writer, knowing from other sources that Ibleam was required in this passage, but failing to recognise it under the form of Balak or Balaam, inserted it himself at the end of the list without omitting the name which he could not understand. If this is so we must assume the Biblical order to be correct, and this brings Ibleam into closer relation to Megiddo.

[1] [In 2 Kings xv, 10, where Zechariah the son of Jeroboam is slain "before the people" (קבל עם), the un-Hebraic expression should doubtless be "in Ibleam." This happy conjecture of Graetz was confirmed when the Lucianic recension of the Septuagint was made known, and is now generally accepted. See the *Ency. Biblica* and other Dictionaries, also the Commentaries.—Ed.]

More than this, the LXX transliteration of Balaam from Ibleam immediately suggests some connection with the Levitical town of Bileam (בִּלְעָם), which, like Ibleam, belonged to Issachar but was taken over by Manasseh (1 Chron. vi, 70). Here a surprise awaits us, for if we turn up the Septuagint, we find the transliteration has been exactly reversed, and now reads either Iemblaan or Iblaam! But Bileam can hardly be other than the Belmen or Belmaim of the Book of Judith (iv, 4; vii, 3; cf. *Survey*, Vol. II, p. 48), and Belmaim lay in the neighbourhood of Dothan, guarding one of "the ascents of the Hill country" of Samaria (Judith vii, 1). In the Wady Bel-'ameh we have one of those ascents, in fact the most important of them, and Bel'ameh (Bil'eam) stands on it.

(*c*) The last Biblical reference concerns the story of Jehu (2 Kings ix, 27). Joram, king of Israel, and Ahaziah, king of Judah, who has come down from Jerusalem on a visit to his friend, drive out from Jezreel to meet the advancing chariot of the rebel and in a few minutes the former has fallen dead. "But when Ahaziah the king of Judah saw this, he fled by way of the garden house. And Jehu followed after him, and said, Smite him also in the chariot. And they did so at the going up of Gur, which is by Ibleam. And he fled to Megiddo, and died there."

The account given by Josephus (*Antiquities*, IX, 6, 3, tr. Whiston) may be compared with the Biblical story. "Upon the fall of Joram, Ahaziah was afraid of his own life, and turned his chariot into another road, supposing that he should not be seen by Jehu; but he followed after him, and overtook him at a certain acclivity, and drew his bow, and wounded him; so he left his chariot and got upon his horse, and fled from Jehu to Megiddo; and though he was under cure, in a little while he died of that wound . . ."

Up to a point the sequence of the narrative is clear. Seeing his brother-monarch fall, the king of Judah instinctively turns his eyes homewards. To the south he sees the green groves and orchards of Ain Gannim, amidst which is the royal garden house of Israel; behind them, up the path, is the road to Jerusalem and safety; he wheels his chariot and tries to escape unseen across the plains. But Jehu has noticed the movement, and the pursuit comes thundering after the fugitive; Jenin is reached and passed; but up the long ascent which climbs slowly from Esdraelon to the Samaritan hills, the horses of Ahaziah begin to flag; the hunt closes up; the foremost chariots come within range and begin to shoot. The king

of Judah realises that he can no longer hope to win his way to Samaria; he cannot or dare not seek refuge even in Ibleam, which lies on his path; leaving his chariot, he mounts a horse, and, swerving westward, ultimately finds sanctuary in Megiddo.

There is only one place which will satisfy the requirements of this story, and that place is Bel 'ameh. The city which crowned the tell had been built there, as we have said, to guard the junction of two important routes. At its foot the present main road leads off to the right, and in a little over two miles rises to the level plain of Dothan, but the old Jerusalem highway continues straight ahead up a narrow wady, and, always mounting, passes the Merj el-Ghuruk and Sanur, and descends upon Samaria from Fendakumiyeh. Had Ahaziah reached this turning before the pursuit could intercept him, he must have continued southwards, and we should have heard nothing about Megiddo. If, however, he found himself cut off from that road, he must have had two primary alternatives, either to seek refuge in Ibleam itself, or to take the right hand track and push on to Dothan. Either he rejected the first of these or he found it impracticable (and if our argument is correct, the inaccessibility of the main city entrance of "Bel 'ameh" may supply a reason). But the second alternative meant certain death or capture: even if he succeeded in reaching the plain of Dothan his plight would be worse than ever, for if in the narrow wady not more than two chariots could pursue him abreast, in the open plain he would be immediately surrounded and shot down. There was, in fact, only one hope, and that involved a complete change of plan. If he could succeed in exchanging to horseback and breaking away to the west into the foothills, where no chariots could follow, he stood a chance (if a remote one) of escaping with his life. Wounded and desperate, he took this chance and completely baffled the pursuit. By riding across country in the direction of Bourkin, he could have passed the northern angle of the Sahel Arrabeh (plain of Dothan) and re-entered the hill country long before the chariots of his enemy could complete the detour through the Wady Bel 'ameh. Once among the hills he would be safe, and it is at first sight difficult to understand why he should then have fled to Megiddo rather than to Ta'anach, which is so much nearer. This is not a question we can hope to answer, but it is surely a reasonable hypothesis that he lost his way in the network of valleys (it must have been quite unknown country to him) and emerged finally at some point in the

Wady Arab. Such a mistake is intelligible if the fugitive came from the south : it becomes incomprehensible if Ibleam is placed to the east or north-east of the open plain of Esdraelon.

The arguments for placing Ibleam at Bel 'ameh can now be summarised as follows :—

(1) The Pass of the Wady Bel 'ameh requires a Canaanite fortress to complete the otherwise unbroken chain of sentinels from Tell el-Kussis to Bethshean.

(2) Such a fortress exists at Bel 'ameh, which is situated one mile up the ascent at the junction of the old Jerusalem and Dothan roads.

(3) Ibleam is named with the other great frontier fortress of Ta'anach, Megiddo and Bethshean. It may be presumed, therefore, to have been of the same nature.

(4) The Old Testament references and the Septuagint readings suggest the identity of Ibleam and Bileam. But Bileam is generally admitted to be the same as Belmaim, and lay therefore near Dothan on one of the ascents to the hill country of Samaria. Now Bel 'ameh (which very strongly resembles Bileam in name, and is also the frontier fortress of (1) and (2) above) lies near Dothan on one of the ascents to that hill country. Therefore Ibleam—Bileam—Belmaim may be tentatively placed at Bel 'ameh.

(5) The flight of Ahaziah is said to have lain by way of the garden house and the ascent to Gur, "which is by Ibleam." Thence he fled to Megiddo, as Josephus tells us, on horseback.

From this we learn that Ibleam stood near an "ascent," *i.e.*, a well-known hill pass, and as all writers are agreed that the garden house most probably represents Jenin, and as Ahaziah would naturally retreat by Jenin to Jerusalem, we come back once more to the same site of Bel 'ameh, which is only one mile south from Jenin, is on a well known ascent, and marks the turning of the Jerusalem road.

Moreover, on examining the story we find that its details can best be explained, and in fact are only intelligible, if we assume Bel 'ameh to be the scene of Ahaziah's wounding and change of plan.

We conclude, therefore, on all grounds that Ibleam and Bileam are identical, and that they are to be located at the site of Bel 'ameh (now el-Burj), which may be identified on the P.E.F. Map Sheet VIII with the wely of Sheikh Mansur (N.1) and the ground lying between the small wadies to north and south of it.

THE NEW PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE IN PALESTINE.

THE first annual report of the Department of Health in Palestine for the year 1921 just issued is a record of most satisfactory beginnings.

"In theory there existed under the Ottoman code the outline of a Medical Service, which would have served the primary needs of the country if in practice it had been adopted," but those who lived in Palestine under the Turks knew how little practice corresponded with theory.

The new department has shouldered the responsibility of conducting sanitary services throughout the land; it has established hospitals and dispensaries working in friendly co-operation with the voluntary and charitable efforts already existing; it has established a central bacteriological laboratory at Haifa and subsidiary clinical laboratories attached to the Government hospitals at Jerusalem, Gaza, Nablus and Jaffa; it has taken measures to render effectual the protection of the country from the importation of infectious diseases from sea and land. In this voluminous report of 86 pages it has furnished us with the first scientific statistics relating to the incidence of disease, to births and to deaths.

Under the Director of Health, Principal Medical Officers have been attached to each district headquarters. District offices of health, under the control of a medical officer, are now situated in each of the following towns:—Jerusalem, Ramallah, Bethlehem, Beersheba, Haifa, Akka, Shefr Amr, Nablus, Jenin, Tulkeram, Nazareth, Tiberias, Safed Beisan, Jaffa, Ramleh, Gaza, and Mejdel. Government hospitals with infectious annexes are now established at half these places and casualty posts at all but three of the remainder. Many public health laws and departmental regulations have been put forward. On the whole the report gives an encouraging picture of the co-operation of the natives of the land.

"It is a remarkable fact that a people unused for centuries to sanitary reform has grasped with such readiness the essential fact

that good sanitation means good health and health spells prosperity. Such has been our experience amongst the Arab population, who by careful and tactful dealing on the part of P.M.S. and their medical staff have responded readily to sanitary enterprize and health projects and have co-operated with the Department of Health in its campaign against dirt and disease."

In the Pasteur Institute in Jerusalem no less than 465 patients have received antirabic treatment. "The country is rich in wild fauna (jackals and hyenas particularly) among which rabies is rife. Many domestic animals—cats and dogs—are known to die of rabies and are subject to attack by wild animals." No less than 2,818 animals have been killed in 1921 in antirabic measures.

During 1921 the incidence of infectious diseases was fortunately low. No case of cholera occurred. Small-pox killed one unvaccinated child of 2, from whom unfortunately a villager inoculated several other cases, according to the traditional method of the land, producing a small epidemic.

Of Typhus 63 cases occurred, chiefly in the Jaffa district, with the surprisingly light mortality of less than 10 per cent. Relapsing Fever occurred in 51 cases in Haifa, chiefly among Egyptian labourers. 459 cases of Typhoid or Paratyphoid occurred, 66 per cent. of the cases being Jews. Scarlet Fever, Mumps, Whooping Cough, Diphtheria, Measles, Influenza, and Cerebrospinal Fever occurred in moderate numbers with a total of only about 19 notified deaths.

One of the most interesting discoveries has been that Bilharzia has become—temporarily, we hope—endemic in the Jaffa district during the war. 355 cases were found infected in 1921. Before the war the sporadic cases seen were all considered to be importations, but now it is found that in the Jaffa district 10 per cent. of the school children had acquired the disease and, most important of all, a small snail (*Isodora contorta*, genus *Bullinus*) has been found to be the intermediate host.

Lepers seem to have been greatly reduced in numbers in recent years, as it is stated there are now only 34 known lepers, of which 24 are in the Leper Hospital in Jerusalem. Probably the prolonged war caused the death or dispersal to their homes of a good many of these unfortunate victims, who before that lived chiefly on the charity of pilgrims and tourists.

The new Public Health Department cannot possibly furnish scientifically accurate vital statistics until a census of the land is taken and compulsory death and birth registration is enforced. The statistics given in the report are interesting as a promise of things to come. The statistics so far collected give the total population of Western Palestine as 744,131; the death rate 16·1; the total births for the year 20,915; the infant mortality for the year 154·8; the successful primary vaccinations 26,592 (but another 20,405 were "not observed").

"Of the eleven Government hospitals those in Jerusalem, Haifa, Jaffa, Nablus, and Ramallah were fairly well housed at the end of 1921. Of Ramleh, Tulkeram, Gaza, Akka, Hebron, and Beersheba the hospital buildings were still so entirely unsuitable, or in so ruinous a condition, and so lacking in sanitation, as to prevent the full number of patients being accommodated and to render impossible the proper isolation of infectious patients." "The appointment of British nursing sisters or matrons of the six larger hospitals has in every instance been rapidly followed by a marked improvement in the class of applicant for the posts of probationer nurse. And the grant of a nursing certificate after the three years' course of training, given in the hospitals which possess a British matron, has tended to prevent the frequent changes in the probationer nurses which formerly occurred. The provision of a proper uniform for nurses in the Government service has also had its effect in raising the standard of nursing. The nursing staff for the 372 authorised beds in the eleven Government hospitals consisted of 6 matrons, 12 staff nurses, and 61 probationer nurses. The number of admissions to the Government hospitals was 6,608, as compared with 5,768 in 1920 and 4,738 in 1919. The attendances at the Government dispensaries in 1921 was 155,523."

In the Government hospitals 10·7 per cent. of the patients were Jews, 17·7 per cent. Christians, and 71·4 per cent. Moslems. In the dispensaries 80·6 per cent. were Moslems.

The voluntary hospitals had a strength of 1,084 beds and 15,997 admissions, and here more than half the patients were Jews. The Mission hospitals at Jaffa, Hebron, and Nablus and the British Ophthalmic Hospital all, however, had a very high percentage of Moslem admissions. In the various voluntary dispensaries and clinics the attendances amounted to 657,610, of which 45·7 per cent. were for eye disease.

The nursing staffs in the voluntary hospitals amounted to 210, of whom exactly one-half were attached to the American Zionist Medical Unit. The number of pupil nurses who passed their third-year (final) examination during the year was 29, all from voluntary hospitals.

The practice of midwifery in Palestine is in a most unsatisfactory position. The 51 qualified midwives are confined to a few of the larger towns, and there are no less than 894 untrained and, in most cases, grossly ignorant women registered in the District Health Offices who practice as midwives. There are few problems more urgent than the establishment of centres for the teaching of midwifery and infant management, and as Government funds are not yet forthcoming efforts are being made to obtain voluntary subscriptions to effect this end. Of the 274 licensed medical practitioners in the land it is interesting to notice that 33, or 12 per cent., are British.

The new "School medical service" should be of great service to the country. "During 1921 there were 54 town schools with 7,069 scholars and 146 village schools with 6,499 scholars dealt with. Few of the school buildings could be considered satisfactory, but the improvements which took place during the year, particularly as regards sanitation, were very noteworthy." Trachoma is most prevalent in Southern Palestine, but the school returns show all over the land that some 74 per cent. of the school children are infected. A very special effort is being made to stamp out this disease among the young before it reaches its practically incurable stage. Daily routine treatment of infected children is being carried out under medical supervision. 15 per cent. of school children suffered from defective vision. 20 per cent. to 65 per cent. were verminous, a percentage varying in different schools. "A considerable improvement took place in this respect after the teachers had received their instructions in hygiene, and as the result of disinfection." 8 per cent. of the scholars had four or more carious teeth. Enlargement of the spleen — due to malaria — was present in 8 per cent. of the children throughout the country, but in some of the village schools in malarious districts it was as high as 60 per cent. Round worms are very common.

"Malaria stands out as by far the most important disease in Palestine; few regions of the country are actually free from it."

Anti-mosquito measures were carried out under the directions of the medical officers of health by 32 anti-malaria sub-inspectors. During 1921 a total of 66,381 possible breeding places (wells, cisterns, and cesspits) were registered. Many thousand inspections were made; some places were closed, and, if otherwise satisfactory, fitted with pumps; "oiling," to destroy the mosquito lavae. was carried out with the expenditure of 76 tons of paraffin and crude oil mixture. The results have been encouraging.

The sick have been widely treated with quinine. No less than 36,416 received regular courses of quinine from Government medical officers; in this way no less than 216,500 grammes of quinine have been distributed in the villages. In the Government laboratories no less than 25,000 blood films were examined during the year.

There was a very severe epidemic of malaria in the autumn of 1920 lasting into February, 1921. "The villages situated in the wadies, west of Hebron, running from the Beit Jebrin region to the plains of Philistia, were particularly affected. Few persons in this region escaped the disease, and around a number of villages the late crops were left standing as the people were too sick and too debilitated to gather them. The death rate in this region during the latter part of 1920 was 68 per 1,000, and the mortality was particularly high among infants and young children. In the village of Beit Jebrin itself one-sixth of the population died in three months."

Such epidemics have constantly recurred in Palestine after unusual rainfall, and the consequent development of new breeding grounds of the Anopheles. A severe epidemic of this nature accompanied by cases of "Black Water Fever" occurred in 1893 in Jaffa.

The drainage of swamps is an essential part of any antimalarial campaign. A successful scheme of this nature has been carried out at Beisan resulting in the drying up of some thousand acres of rich government land, now ready for cotton growing, to the conserving of water for personal irrigation on a large scale and to a reduction of malaria in this notably malarious district. A similar smaller scheme has been successfully carried through in Jenin.

A Central Advisory Commission has been appointed by the High Commissioner to guide and advise the Government and to educate public opinion with regard to malaria.

With respect to water supply the report has some interesting

remarks. While the standard of purity is "admittedly low as compared with British municipal standards, it has proved satisfactory in practice, and the enforcement of a higher standard at present is impossible, as it would lead to the closure of the majority of the wells and cisterns in the country."

"Piped town supplies exist in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Gaza, Beersheba, Hebron, Ramleh, Tulkeram, Jericho, Nablus, Akka, Tiberias and Safed. In all cases they are inadequate, incomplete and unsatisfactory. The Jerusalem supply, installed by the Army in 1918, is by far the best, but house connections for the poorer inhabitants are impossible on account of the prohibitive cost of the water (£18 per annum), and in any case a supply of less than 150,000 gallons daily for a city of over 60,000 inhabitants allows only of street standard pipes and a few connections to hospitals, orphanages and similar institutions and to the more wealthy houses. It is expected that the Jerusalem supply will be more than doubled by next year. Purification of the water, as elsewhere in Palestine, is effected by means of bleaching powder. The bulk of the Jerusalem drinking water, however, still comes from its 6,600 privately owned rain-water cisterns."

At Tiberias people mostly obtain their water by pitchers which they fill by wading into the lake, but work has actually started whereby a sufficient supply will be drawn from an unpolluted part of the lake, north of the town, and proper facilities for purification will be provided.

The antiquated and ill administered Quarantine regulations of the old Turkish Government have now been replaced by more efficient and more humane methods.

"At the present time the control of travellers arriving by land or sea consists in an observation of the health of all arrivals for the first five days of their sojourn in the country. Detention of travellers is not resorted to except in the case of those who arrive by sea from infected ports. With the development of the system of observation at their destination it was possible, at the end of the year, to restrict detention to those categories of travellers from infected countries most likely to convey infection and most difficult to trace at their destination."

E. W. G. M.

THE EPIGRAPHY OF JEWISH COINAGE.

By Samuel Raffaeli.

On many occasions I have endeavoured to refute, on historical grounds, the theory adopted by some eminent scholars as to the ascription of the silver Maccabaean shekels to the later period of the Jewish War with the Romans (A.D. 66–70), commonly called the First Jewish Revolt.[1] In the present article I propose to show that there is no evidence that Jewish coins give indication of any essential development during the period under review, a length of over 260 years, commencing with the Maccabaean epoch (141 B.C.) and terminating with Bar-Kochba (A.D. 124 or 134).

The earliest Jewish letters of which we are cognisant, and which are in our possession, are undoubtedly those of the famous Moabite stone inscription of the ninth century and the Siloam inscription of about the seventh century B.C. Between these periods come the Gezer tablet (fully deciphered and explained in the *Q.S.*, 1909), the seals and gems, the stone and bronze weights, the jar-handles of pottery work, with Hebrew inscriptions. These have well-known letters, without doubt prior to the Jewish coinage era, and by making a careful study of the epigraphy of these coins known to the numismatic world we must come to the conclusion that the alterations in lettering are chiefly adjustment due to the whim of the craftsman during the process of engraving on stone or metal, as the case might be, more than to any radical change of characters.

As mentioned previously, the Moabite stone can be approximately dated in the middle of the ninth century, and the Siloam inscription at about 700 B.C., but even after disputing this early age, the critics have to admit this antiquity to be between the Moabite stone inscription era and the early Jewish coins.

The seals, gems, weight stones and bronze, as also the pottery jar-handles, are usually dated between 800 B.C. and 500 B.C.[2] In

[1] See, e.g., *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Jerusalem, 1921.

[2] Stanley A. Cook, *Q.S.*, October, 1909.

carefully comparing the symbols of these inscriptions and comparing them to the epigraphy of the known Jewish coins we find a great resemblance to each other.

The *Aleph* is modified from the Moabite and Siloam to the form equal to the *Aleph* of the Samaritan, which appears on all the Jewish coins; both forms are found on many seals and gems (*cf.*, e.g., Levy's *Siegel und Gemmen*, Breslau, 1869) and in later publications from the late Mr. Clarke's collection, and the form of the coins is found on some seals in my own collection (*Q.S.*, April, 1918, October, 1919). By a freak of craftsmanship, the letter became reversed on the bronze Maccabaean coin of the Fourth Year: "Year four of the redemption of Zion." This form is surely not a type, as its like is not to be found elsewhere.

The *Beth* and *Gimel* are not altered to a great extent. The head of the *Beth* is a trifle changed from the Moabite and the Siloam into the triangular form of the shekels, and the *Gimel* is alike on all inscriptions and coins, with the exception of some seals where it is turned into the form of the *Pe*.

The *Daleth* is in triangular form on the Moabite inscription, whereas it is modified on the Siloam with a slight leg, and this form is adopted on all coins, but both forms appear on seals. It is the triangular form on the seal of Chemosh-Zedek (S. A. Cook, *Q.S.*, 1909, p. 296), but even on the Phoenician inscriptions we may find the two forms; the Baal-Lebanon inscription has the triangular form and the Ipsambul and Abydus have the Siloam form.

The *He* on Moabite and Siloam is with three bars, but on some seals only two bars are adopted, as, for instance, the Moabite seal (Pilcher, *Q.S.*, 1915, p. 42), and my "Adonijah" seal (*Q.S.*, 1919, p. 178). This letter is reversed on the large Mattathiah-Antigonus bronze coins, but on the small Hasmonaean coins the modified *He* exhibits the triple-bar form.

The *Vav* has undergone many transformations under the hand of the craftsman, but the rare form, which is found on the seal of Yehucal, and still better on the bilingual inscription of "Amwas," is also to be found on the Maccabaean Fourth Year bronze coins, and on many of the small Hasmonaean coins and on the unique half-silver Bar-Kochba shekel in possession of a private collector.

The modification of the *Zayin* from the Moabite can be traced down to the "Eleazar" coins of the Bar-Kochba period.

The *Kheth*, which has two bars on the Moabite and on most of the seals, has only one bar on coins, unlike, however, the "Nerab" and Aramaean type, which is open on the coins, the edges of the letter on the coins being closed.

The *Yod* and *Koph* are not changed at all.

The *Lamed* has two forms, one with a round base and the other angular: see the seal Nazarel (*Q.S.*, 1915, p. 42), and the seal Ishmael (*Q.S.*, 1918, p. 93). This form is adopted on all Jewish coins. On some of the Bar-Kochba coins the letter is reversed by the craftsman's freak.

On the *Mem* is to be found traces of modification, also on the "Pim" weight, and this form is to be found on all coins.

There are no alterations on the *Nun* or on the *Ain*.

The *Zade* of the "Susa Bowl," dated 600 B.C. (*Q.S.*, 1909, p. 303), is adopted on the Jewish coins, on the half-silver shekels and "Zion" bronze coins. *Koph* and *Resh* are not much altered.

Shin has two forms, the zigzag form like the Roman W, and the ound form. Both are to be found on seals, and on coins we find both forms in the same year. The Fourth Year bronze Maccabaean "Zion" coins have both forms, and on some Bar-Kochba coins on the reverse may be seen the zigzag form, while on the obverse appears the round form.[1]

There are no modifications in the *Tav*.

I have, I hope, thus given ample proof that the alteration in form of the epigraphy of the Jewish coinage of the whole period, commencing with the Maccabaean and concluding with the Bar-Kochba period, is due mainly to the fancies and whims of the engravers and craftsmen, more than to any other cause, and that all arguments in favour of the theory which attributes these coins to a later period, simply on account of the form of some letters being somewhat similar in character to those of later-dated coins, are therefore without any solid foundation whatever.

Jerusalem, *March*, 1922.

[1] See my book, מטבעות היהודים, Figs. 177, 181, 186, 192, 193.

NOTES ON EXCAVATIONS AND DISCOVERIES.

THE British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, founded three years ago, and engaged in active work for the last two years, has now issued its first Bulletin. The Director, Professor Garstang, in the course of a foreword, gives some account of the aims and principles of the School, pointing out how the position of Palestine, a focus upon which varied civilizations converged, has made it a centre for tracing important historical problems. "Students of Greece and Crete, of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, of Arabia and of Egypt, will each and all find a field of interesting study in Jerusalem, where their help will be equally indispensable to the interpretation of results."

The Bulletin also contains a short monograph by Mr. W. J. Phythian-Adams on "Hittite and Trojan Allies, 1290–1190 B.C." To put it briefly, "The author points out that a group of Hittite allies who fought in Syria with the Great King of Kheta against the Pharaoh Ramses II. reappear as Trojan allies a hundred years later." The fact is simple, the conclusion obvious: "only Greece and Egypt are each beyond the other's horizon, and both areas must come within the purview of the student of Palestine who brings the fact to light."

From the Bulletin we learn that early Egyptian objects continue to be found at Byblos. At Kedesh, where a monument of Seti I. was found last year, early pottery is reported. "At Tyre massive masonry foundations have been uncovered on the approach to the former island, and there are abundant traces of activity of the period of Alexander and thereafter."

The British School itself is making preparations to examine, in the autumn, Tell Harbaj and Tell Amr, the possible sites of Harosheth of the Gentiles.

"The Arabic pottery found on the site of the great mosque which overlay Herod's cloisters at Askalon proves to include a number of rare and early fabrics comparable with those of Fustat, and especially akin to specimens which M. de Lorey has recently recovered at Damascus."

The excavations at Tell el-Ful, three miles north of Jerusalem (Gibeah of Benjamin?), are proceeding under Dr. Albright, the Director of the American School. "The few soundings that have

already been made have, however, seemed to give the main outlines of the archaeology of the hill. The top hillock was, as everybody expected, found to be entirely artificial, comprising the remains of some three, at least, Hebrew and Jewish fortresses. The topmost one is post-Exilic, judging from the pottery discovered; the second is supposed, on account of the stonework and 'pebble-pottery,' to be Solomonic (we learn from 1 Kings that Asa, about 900 B.C., built in haste a fortress at Geba of Benjamin); while the third is attributable to the period of Saul" (*The Near East*, May 11).

Mr. Guy, Inspector of Antiquities, has examined 40 ancient mounds to the south of Beth-shan (Beisan), 17 of them unrecorded. In several of them very early pottery was found.

The Palestine Weekly (April 28, May 12) gives an account of the excavations at Beisan by Dr. Fisher on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania (quoting the Journal of the University Museum). From it we cull the following:—

"The lowest level reached contained a large circular structure approximately dated to 2000 B.C. Below this the debris continued with no signs as yet of the natural rock, thus proving the antiquity of the hill to be even greater than we had anticipated. At this level were several jars of thick rough gritty ware with a wash of hematite coarsely applied. On one was scratched a crude drawing of some long horned animal resembling an ibex. At a slightly higher level were two burials. The skeleton of the finer of the two was that of a young woman laid on her side, partly contracted in an enclosure formed by a single row of stones. In this were placed a number of earthenware vessels, the larger against the wall, the smaller behind the skeleton. The types are well-known in Palestine as belonging to 1800–1600 B.C., contemporaneous with the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt. At the neck were a number of beads, two being of glazed quartzite. . . .

"At the close of the season the terrace had been cleared down through three levels. The topmost series of walls belong to the town built by the Arabs after their first conquest in 632 A.D. They were erected partly on the foundations, and largely with the material taken from preceding Byzantine and Early Christian buildings. The old columns, of black granite, were used mainly to strengthen the new walls, and were often found inverted or broken in half for convenience in handling. The heavier masonry on the left of the photograph is the lower terrace or inner enclosing wall connecting

with the gate. Just inside this, re-used in a room, evidently a kitchen, we found a large marble stele. This bore a Greek inscription commemorating the restoration of the city wall at the instance of Flavius Arsenius during the local magistracy of Flavius Leon. Some years ago another similar slab was unearthed at Beisan, and is now in the house of the District Officer there. This refers to the same work of restoration, but gives in addition the name of the Emperor Flavius Anastasius, which establishes its date as probably 509–510 A.D. A certain Flavius Arsenius is known to have possessed great influence at the Court of Byzantine about 530 A.D., which he is said to have exercised in the interest of Scythopolis, probably because it was his birth-place. The dates in the two inscriptions are a year apart. As the restoration of the city wall was a work of considerable magnitude extending over several years, probably a tablet was inserted in the face of each completed portion. In the debris we found a number of bronze lamp frames, vessels, and fragments of fine mosaic, undoubtedly belonging to a Christian Church on the summit. . . .

"During the excavations on the summit a vertical shaft was sunk near the south-western side, where no pavements or walls were *in situ*. At a depth of two and a half metres from the surface we found a large basalt stele with an Egyptian inscription of Seti I., 1313–1292 B.C. This lay on its side with one edge broken away, and the inscribed face badly weathered. It was not in its original position and had been re-used, as the upper portion containing part of a relief panel had been cut off. The stele bears twenty lines of hieroglyphs, in which mention is made of the Syrians. So far as it has been deciphered the inscription is made up mainly of the usual laudatory attributes of the king. . . .

"At Beisan Mr. Fisher, for the University Museum of Philadelphia, has resumed excavations, and proposes to continue the season until the end of October.

"The entire eastern terrace of the hill has been cleared, exposing the latest Arabic stratum with other walls of earlier date.

"Work has been divided between this part of the site and the long series of low hills along the stream north of the main Tel, where was the city cemetery. Already several interesting tombs have been found ranging in the date 1000 B.C. to Christian times. All of these tombs had been rifled, but some fine glass and jewellery had been overlooked in the hurried search made by the plunderers.

"The whole of the cemetery is to be cleared strip by strip from the level of the stream to the crest of the ridge along which ran the northern city wall. At the same time work will be continued on the summit of the central hill to open up completely the Arabic settlement within the enclosing walls. After this the dissection of the Tel stratum by stratum will continue as last year. The next level to be uncovered is expected to be that of the Roman period, considerable traces of a large structure of this age having been found near the close of work last season."

A very interesting Greco-Roman villa was reported by Major Champion, Governor of Hebron and South-East Palestine, at Beit Jibrin. It has been examined by members of the British and French Schools, and a preliminary account is given in the *Revue Biblique*, April, by Father Vincent. The villa contains an exceedingly fine mosaic, illustrations of which are given by the French Professor, and it is noteworthy that animals play as large a part in it as in the remarkable tombs discovered earlier at Marissa, and published by the P.E.F. The mosaic, however, is later; it is argued that we have a villa erected towards the end of the second century A.D., and transformed into a Christian residence in the course of the fifth or sixth century.

In the July issue of the *Revue Biblique* Father Vincent contributes an elaborate and well-illustrated discussion of Nebi Samwil.

The Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (January, 1922) contains an interesting report by the Director, Dr. Albright. He draws attention to the necessity of collecting native customs and legends before modern changes destroy all traces of them, and states that he has succeeded in attracting promising Syrian scholars and amateurs to this field. Commenting on the Fund's work at Askalon, he observes: "the discoveries of painted potsherds, systematically studied by Mr. Phythian-Adams, permit a certain ceramic index of Canaanite and Philistine civilization to be set up, doing away with guess-work in this field. Even after the work of Petrie, Bliss, Macalister and Mackenzie, there was room for doubt as to the exact relation between the changes in ceramic style and the political changes in the land. At Askalon, however, a burned area, on which new foundations of crude brick are laid, separates the stratum containing Philistine sherds from that with only Canaanite and Cypriote."

S. A. C.

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip J. Baldensperger.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1922, *p.* 67.)

Arab Life.[1]

The most ancient inhabitants of the borders of Palestine lived practically in the same districts, and surely in the same state, as do their modern representatives. The Canaanites who were landed proprietors of Palestine would not find the wandering Abraham a novelty when he pitched his tent between Bethel and Ai (Gen. xii. 8) without opposition, and remained a Bedawy all his days. Moreover, Abraham remained a shepherd, whereas Isaac became an agricultural Bedawy, working on hired lands which Abimelech granted him. The tribe was greatly reduced by successive losses, first of all by the departure of the Ishmaelites, and Jacob was still more reduced by the separation of his wild brother Ishmael. The Ishmaelites were not exclusively shepherds by that time, as they carried goods and spices on their camels to Egypt, and bought Joseph as they passed by Dothan. It was Joseph who, according to an Arab song,

Was thrown into a well at Jibrin
Surrounded by all kinds of serpents.

(ورمو الى بير جبرين ملان حيايى ملتمين).

To-day the 'Arishiye(t) Bedus on the Egyptian frontier carry goods by land from Gaza to Egypt and *vice versâ*. They are a peculiar intermediate class; they practice commerce and agriculture and are camel-rearers. They come from el-'Arish and its environs during the winter, when traffic is brisk, principally between Jerusalem and Jaffa. On their miserable camels they carry small

[1] [The reader is reminded that these sketches were written before the Great War.—Ed.]

loads at very low prices. They feed their camels on next to nothing, except for the thorn-bushes and other shrubs they find on the way. They remain many days on the road, and sell the camels to the fellaḥin when the season is over. They buy fresh camels in their country and pass the summer months in Egypt, where they help to harvest the *durra*, etc. In the following year they come again with two or three camels—ten seems to be the height of their ambition—and with this number they retire and enjoy the labour of many years' misery in their sandy homes. This type, it is only just to say, is exposed to the incursions of the south Palestinian robber Bedus, and is very little respected.

Among the pure non-working Arabs are the Teyaha and Tarabin in the south, the Beni Saḳhr or Skhur ("the sons of the Rocks") in the east, and in the north the 'Anazeh. The last-mentioned roam all over, from Syria to Mesopotamia and the Jauf, with their innumerable herds of camels, which spoil the land through which they pass, as they do not leave a single blade of grass. As lords of the desert they are haughty and rule despotically over all who come within their reach. They live on whatever they can hold ; they will rob stray travellers who are not confided to their special care, or will war tribe against tribe. The Billy living south of Gaza are the most audacious and terrible of robbers in Philistia. They come and infest the road from Jaffa to Bab el-Wad, but will not venture into the mountains, where their horses cannot escape with the same ease as in the plain. They clear out of the way whenever they feel inferior to their adversary, and hardly ever attack Europeans. In the north plain of Jezreel the Beni Saḳhr and in the east the 'Adwān go forth on robbing expeditions far away from their own districts. In rare cases 'Adwan, who have been known to rob near Bethany, have advanced into the plain of Sharon by the north, crossing near Bethel, Gibea, down to Yalo.

The oldest calling of the Bedu was certainly the rearing of camels, though they now attribute this to a gift from the prophet Mohammed himself. As camels carried the prophet and his companions on his flight from Mecca they are considered sacred, and must never be utilized as freight animals, except it be for private use, to carry tents and household utensils when the camp is moved. The fellahin and 'Arishiyeh are certainly cursed for living on the work of their camels. A camel is so sacred that if two associates disagree their

camel will either die or cause some disaster to fall upon their heads —at least, so it is said!

Abraham, the wealthy Bedawy Sheikh, sent his servant across the desert with 10 camels, which was only a very small part of what he possessed (Gen. xii, 16, and xxiv, 35). Isaac, being an agriculturist, would certainly possess very few. Jacob had camels when he came from Mesopotamia (Gen. xxx, 43), but he must have lost them later, as we subsequently find that his sons go the long journey to Egypt each with a single ass to bring grain, instead of taking the useful camel, which they undoubtedly would have done if they had had any. Moreover, they would have utilized camels also for the transport of their wives and children and baggage, instead of accepting the wagons which Joseph sent (Gen. xlv, 19).

The Bedawy Job of the "Children of the East" (Job i, 3) possessed 3,000 camels, 7,000 sheep, 500 yoke of oxen and 500 she-asses. Hence he was also an agriculturist, but he had no horses. Again, in the days of Gideon, the Midianites, the Amalekites, and the Children of the East covered the land with their tents and camels without number, but no horse is mentioned. The Reubenites who fought against the Hagarites took away 50,000 camels, sheep and asses (1 Chron. v, 21). The camel always was and will be the inseparable companion of the Bedawy. Without the camel it would be impossible for the nomads to carry their tents and furniture over the vast sandy spaces, where asses can pass only with difficulty and carry only a very small load, and cannot endure hunger and thirst for the same length of time as can a camel. The desert camel is not very strong, and cannot carry such heavy loads as the well-fed working camels of the fellahin. On the other hand, it is more sturdy and can feed on the hedges when necessary, living a meagre life and ready to stand all the privations of the desert. It seems veritably to swell up when it receives its food daily and at given meals; and the longer the journey, the more this wonderful animal seems to progress, provided it is fed regularly. The small and miserable 'Arishiyeh camels, which work and travel from Egypt to Jaffa and Jaffa to Jerusalem, are fed very irregularly and remain small and comparatively weak. The Hauran camels, on the other hand, who carry wheat from the Belka and Hauran to Nablus and Accho are very strong, and easily carry six to seven hundred pounds all the way. The same can be said of the North Syrian

camels which undertake the regular and long journey between Syria and Mesopotamia.

In previous chapters we have seen that objects or animals which have been in the country for a number of centuries have far more names to designate their different states and conditions than those that are of more recent introduction or are less known to the people. The generic name of the camel is *jamal*, the Hebrew *gāmāl*, under which name it is generally known in towns and villages. But the Bedawy has scores of names—*ba'īr*, *abal* or *el-bal* the idle roamer, *ṭa'ūn* the irritable, *raḥel* the migrator, *wasek* the forced carrier, *hayrūn* the exceller, *katūb* the pack-saddle carrier, and so forth. The dromedary is called *hajīn* or *delūl*, and is used in order to carry news very rapidly. The post is often carried by the dromedary for long journeys for which horses are not fitted. In Palestine proper there were various dromedary posts; the Turkish Camel Corps is sufficiently known, as also the similar corps in those North African countries that border on the desert. The Algerian Camel Corps render great services to the French Government. When Ibrahim Pasha was stopped in his progress to Jerusalem by the fellahin above Wady 'Ali, he communicated with his father in Cairo by means of Tartar express riders, who carried the news to Egypt on dromedaries, and a few days later Mahomet 'Ali sent four regiments of infantry across the desert, and the passage to Jerusalem was opened. These dromedary posts were utilized by Ahasuerus to make known throughout his vast empire his will about Mordecai; he used footmen for short distances, horses and mules for the further, and dromedaries for the furthest (Esther viii, 10).

A female camel is called *nākat* or *'aẓuf*; a year old camel is a *ka'ūd*, *faẓīl* or *ḥuwāre*; a young she-camel is *kūlūẓ*, *'anūk* and *bikra(t)* and a new-born camel is *bū*. The great herds of camels (*waḍiha[t]*) are only found east and south, or in the far north, as Palestine proper is not the real camel land. Troops of working camels, *wasīkat*, or small herds of between 50 to 100 (called *hajme[t]*, are often met with in Philistia. Besides the many names for the camels and for herds of camels, there is a name for every movement, its resting-place, the noises it makes, and so on. A camel kneels, *binīkh*, for rest, but kneels down, *bubrūkh*, to receive or to be relieved of its load. When an Arab wishes his camel to kneel down he touches the neck and utters a succession of *kh*'s (خ) or a prolonged sound of the letter. When the camel kneels

down the Arab may sometimes say *ubrūkh* (ابرخ), *i.e.*, kneel down. Was the same meaning attached to the word *Abrēkh*, which was called out before Joseph when he was proclaimed prime minister in Egypt (Gen. xli, 43)? Yet it must be observed that the last consonant is different.

The resting-place of camels, which is also a very healthy place, is called the *manākh*. From it Europeans are said ultimately to have derived the word almanac.

Special words denoting growling, *karkara(t)*, chewing the cud, *karūl*, galloping, *hajem*, braying, *ghat*, are used of camels only. The camel, being the pet of the family, has been the familiar beast of the Bedawy for thousands of years. It is not only the beast of burden, but the wool growing about the lower part of the neck and on the hump is spun and woven into such articles as the cap, *-ube'*, the head-cord, *merīr*, and so forth. If a fatal accident happens, the meat is eaten, and the skin tanned and utilized for different purposes.

A milch-camel is *tehdab*, whilst a cow or goat is *tehlab*. The halter (*khetām*) is highly ornamented on feast days, and the rope by which the camel is led, *zemāme*, means also "a tie of friendship." Tying the hind legs is called *'akel*, and the forelegs *rafek*. Bedu camels have usually no halter at all. A very angry camel will have a muzzle, *kemāme*, made of palm-leaves, on the snout (*ke'āme*). When a camel is required to walk fast, this can be done either by words, such as *ahāb*, or by singing, *ahtaz*; but singing to camels for pleasure only is called *ahdah*, and the song is *ahdiye(t)*.

When a camel has to carry a man, the *makhlūfe(t)*, or man's saddle, is placed on it; but for a woman or a bride, the *hudaj*, with a big tent-like covering, *sadīl*, is set on the camel, and the animal really seems the prouder for the honour. Pet camels will also wear necklaces with lockets, pearls, or ornaments of silver or gold, attached either as talisman or for adornment. Blue beads are often to be seen, but richer ornaments are more rare, and are reserved for the sheikh's animals. The tusks of the wild boar, though more often hung upon horses, are fastened together in a silver frame to represent the crescent. After Gideon had conquered the "Children of the East" (Judges viii, 10) he slew Zebah and Zalmunna, and took away the "moon ornaments" that were on their camels' necks (*v.* 21). The Venus morning star, which was also represented

by the crescent, was therefore not an invention of the modern Arab, but evidently in those remote days was the emblem of Ashtoreth.

The Midianites, Amalekites and "Children of the East," ever associated in the incursions on the land of Israel, would come, they and their camels without number, and impoverish the south of Palestine as far as Gaza (Judges vi, 3–6 ; vii, 12). Nowadays they come with their droves of camels, and the land through which they pass suffers for the next half-year. Such incursions are the consequence of a long drought, which drives them out of the otherwise barren wilderness to try and save a few of their animals. In Urtas we often received the visit of hundreds of herds, principally in quest of water.

The nomads are also breeders of cows, but these, like their camels, are small, and are brought up on a kind of *laissez-faire* system. The cattle (*tarsh*) were always the property of the tribes living in the rear of the nations, and now the pure desert tribes can and will have nothing to do with the degrading cows or oxen, which in a way represent agriculture, which they disdain. The fellahin buy their calves from the nomads and bring them up for ploughing or milking purposes. The *Bedu* women who flock to the markets of the minor towns in the plains are half sedentary, and belong to the agricultural classes ; but they live in tents, and expose their cattle to the inclemency of the Philistian winters, which, though relatively short, are often disastrous. The wadis are swollen up, the soft sandy roads become dangerous, and inextricable marshes cause the death of hundreds of their cattle. But the Bedawy will not improve—poor he was born, and poor he will live and die.

They also have sheep and goats in large herds, but they are not generally kept together. In and about Rubineh and north of Jaffa they are cattle-owners, and have neither camels nor herds. The Ta'awery have principally goats, which roam over the barren mountains of Judea ; they have very few camels, some tiny donkeys, and only a few horses. The Jahalūn and Rasheideh are camel-owners. The 'Adwan have camels, horses and sheep. The Hameideh (south of the Dead Sea) keep camels and flocks, as also do all the 'Anazeh and Beni Saḳhr.

Camels are the property of the Bedu, and camels must participate in every serious act in life. A young camel is killed in order to honour a guest. Camels are given in the marriage ceremonies ;

they are paid over as in the law of the *talio*, and but for the *diye(t)*, which is paid in camels, Mohammed would never have been born. In fact, Abd el-Mottaleb, born in 497 A.D., Sheikh of Mecca, delivered the land out of the hand of the Abyssinians, and, like Jephthah, vowed one of his sons to be sacrificed at the Kaaba, to commemorate the event. The lot fell on his beloved son Abdallah, then 24 years of age. The Koreishites protested against the barbarous act. A diviner (*'arife(t)*) was consulted, who said that the blood of Abdallah could be bought by the *diye(t)* and the lot. The *diye(t)* being ten camels, two arrows without points were put into a bag, one with the inscription "10 (camels)," and the other "Abdallah." Nine times the name of Abdallah was designated, but the tenth time the camels were drawn, and a hundred camels were sacrificed instead of Abdallah, and the *diye(t)* for human blood among the Koreishites was fixed at one hundred camels. Abdallah married soon after Amina, the daughter of Wahb, and Mohammed was born from this union in August, 570 A.D.

A true Bedawy never ought to appeal to town tribunals to judge differences between himself and one of his tribe, no matter how serious it may be. The *diye(t)* is well known, and however poor the Bedawy may be, he cannot easily be induced to receive the blood money; the *thar* must be taken, and if he cannot kill the murderer (*gharim*) himself, he takes the next-of-kin, even though the latter be a member of the next generation. A truce (*'atwe(t)*) is asked for a month or two by the relatives of the *gharim* to try and arrange matters: compare the Hebrew laws (Numb. xxxv, 25); as a rule the relatives of the murdered man do not accept arbiters, and when the *'atwe(t)* is over, everyone is warned to be on his guard. Corresponding to the cities of refuge of the Hebrews, the Arabs have their *tanīb*, which are often a help to the murderer. The *gharim* is in greater danger if he is a sheikh or strong man (*jad'*), but if, on the contrary, he is not worth very much, a better man is chosen.

The *Bedu* laws allow an arrangement, whilst the Hebrew law permitted no pardon. "Moreover ye shall take no ransom (*kōpher*) for the life of a murderer, who is guilty of death: but he shall surely be put to death" (Numb. xxxv, 31). Should matters be arranged, the *tiyābe(t)* is accomplished before the whole tribe, a specified number of camels, and a girl given in marriage, by which alliance peace is more likely to be restored, and the men kiss one another's

heads. If the man who accepted the *tiyābet* should break his promise and kill one of the murderer's family in revenge, he is rejected from the tribe, deprived of all his portable property, and should he be killed in the attack, his death is accounted just (*ḥallāl*), and several of his family may even suffer death into the bargain, without even the right of appeal. If the transgressor, the man who broke his promise, should insist on remaining in the camp or among his tribe, his tent may not be put among the others, but he must pitch it a hundred yards behind the camp for five months, and nobody is allowed even to talk to him or help him. At the end of this period a new judgment is passed, and if his promise is considered satisfactory he is admitted, but will be a ruined man for the rest of his days.

If the murder was committed inadvertently, the *diye*(*t*) is easier; the number of camels vary only as the man is considered of greater value. A sheikh who has led his men into war and who was liberal is certainly worth more than a common obscure Bedawy without wealth or renown.

In case of theft or debt the guilty man is warned to appear before three neutral arbiters, mutually chosen, on a given day. If the culprit does not appear, a second warning is given, then a third one, and if he does not appear he is judged and condemned by contumacy. In consequence of this his camels, horses, hens, and tents may be seized by the claiming party when and where they like—if they can get hold of them. But if the guilty man appear and protest against the judgment, he is allowed to appeal to three fresh arbiters, till they agree. The sheikh has nothing to do in these judgments; he may or may not be chosen as one of the arbiters, but his vote is not worth more than that of any other man.

The principal *rôle* of the sheikh is that of directing public affairs, discussing expeditions, arranging government affairs, receiving guests and entertaining strangers in general, dividing the spoil, and bearing the responsibility of the general policy of the tribe.

The tribes know each other by certain peculiarities of pronunciation, the manner of wearing the *keffiye*(*t*), the cut of the hair-locks, and the colour of certain parts of clothing. A Bedawy never tells his name, nor his tribe, nor his business, nor the whereabouts of his people, even if he is in a friendly district. Consequently questions not likely to be answered are not put, and if anything is to be found out it is done very cautiously, and with a turning about

of the question in an unsuspicious way. Should anybody—townspeople or Europeans only can commit blunders—ignorant of these fundamental customs venture to ask such silly questions, the dialogue would sound very much like this:—

Inquirer:	"Good morning."	Bedawy answer:	"Morning, or good."
„	"How are you?"	„	"In wealth."
„	"Where do you come from?"	„	"From God's direction — Min Bab Allah (from God's gate)."
„	"Who are you?"	„	"Abdallah (God's servant)."
„	"What is your wish?"	„	"Your salvation (*salāmtak*) (سلامتك)."
„	"Where are you bound to?"	„	"Hither (*ḥad hanā*) (حد هنا)."
„	"When are you starting?"	„	"When God wills, soon (*in shā Allah, ḳarīb*)."

They are and must be very cautious, and can take no responsibilities on themselves—a word out of season may bring death and destruction—and the Bedawy holds fast to the saying "Silence is golden." At the right time, however, he can be very eloquent; in fact, one of the gifts of the Bedawy is his eloquence, by means of which the traditions of their ancestors are carried on from generation to generation. When a Bedawy is rehearsing some exploits of his tribe, he paints them in such vivid colours, often accompanied on his fiddle, that he seems to have lived and accompanied the heroes, until you happen to discover that the events may have occurred even before the exodus of the tribe from Arabia, when bows and arrows were better known than any other weapon.

Murders are committed openly or in secret, as the cause may be just or unjust, or vile. In 1886 a woman of a small tribe, the Irteymāt, numbering some 60 horsemen, was married to a Wukheidy. Going to visit her brother she was assaulted by two Bedu of the Wukheidat, who violated her, and, in fear of being discovered, killed her and threw her into a well. Her husband went out to look for her, and met an old woman keeping camels, and after a

number of clever questions she remarked that she knew something about the missed. When she was promised a good reward, she disclosed what she had seen, and what the two men, a cousin and servant of the Wukheidy himself, had done, and where the body was thrown. The body was found and buried, and Ibn Thabed, her brother, swore vengeance. When the Wukheidy was recognised in Gaza one day, Ibn Thabed with another companion rode down, and leaving their mares before the town, came up to the café where the sheikh was sitting, and shot him in the heart; after that he drew his sword and walked back through the town, mounted his mare, and both galloped away towards Egypt. The Government being on the Wukheidy's side, the little tribe was completely ruined, with the help of the mighty Wukheidat, after which they settled again and made peace—for how long?

Continual strifes between the tribes, either for the pasture (as in the days of Abraham and Lot), or because of murder or suspicion as to their women, keep the Bedu aloof, roaming about the desert, now increasing till they feel themselves mighty enough to resist the desires of their neighbours, now decreasing by war or elopements. But these strifes are the safety of the fellahin. Sometimes men have risen from the simple Bedawy garb to the imperial purple, as in the case of Philip the Arabian, who forgot his tribe when in luxury in Rome. The Arab conquest of the greater part of the Eastern Empire, by Bedu leaders, taught the Arabs all kinds of luxury and a mode of living unknown to them, and they readily accepted the new condition; but the original tribes remained in the same condition, just as the parent hive of bees continues in its old-fashioned hive or tree, while the swarms which leave are received into new hives of different kinds.

Sheikh Daher, who lived in the eighteenth century, became governor of Accho, and was open to ideas of progress, far more so than the usual retrograde governor, and through him Christian Cyprians were brought over to help to colonize his new state. A Jerusalem Effendy, now living, was a Bedawy in the plain of Esdraelon in his youth, but he wholly abandoned his former ways, and adopted the Effendy Arabic, and was very hostile in his language towards his friends and relatives, who continued the nomad tent life.

As opposed to the various factors that make for decrease, we have also increase by men of all conditions and nations, who look to

the Arab camp as a safe retreat and refuge. There are criminals who have escaped from the towns, or fellahin avoiding conscription, and these are readily accepted to enlarge the tribe, and in course of time become absorbed into the whole, leaving no trace of their origin. I have known many fellahin, not only in the agricultural Bedu tribes, but also among the Adwan, who, having passed a few years in camps, and after a more open air life than in villages, become as dry in body and as scanty-bearded as the real Bedawy, for as a rule the fellahin have a larger beard and are fatter than the Bedawy.

Elopements (*jarre(t)*), though rare, occur sometimes, and the couple disappear for ever from their native tribe, especially if they are not related to each other. Cousins are admitted back again after paying 80 to 100 mejidi, but if the man has taken the girl by force (*khatife(t)*) and run away, and should wish to come back again, he must be very wealthy indeed, as the price of the act is no less than a full-blood mare, a negress measuring at least five spans, forty camels accompanied by 100 piastres each: the first and last camels must be fair (*esh'al*) to purify the *'ard* (عرض), or reputation. A poor man would have to pay with his life; consequently he stays away for ever.

Stealing is really only considered as such when it is done by men in the same tribe or camp, and it is regarded as degrading if the thief be taken in the act of stealing, or overtaken after having succeeded in carrying away the booty. He receives an inhuman flogging if he does not defend himself, or is shot at if he stands and defends himself. If taken he is stripped of all his clothes and set free; nobody can interfere legally, not even if he is shot; of course they will not pardon the *thar*, but the thief generally asks pardon "in honour of so and so" (*ana dakhel fī flān*). If a professional thief is taken he is judged by arbiters, and condemned to restore the theft fourfold.

With regard to religion, the Bedu have always been very negligent; of old they had no temples in their roaming life, and, having no places of worship, they easily accepted the kind of worship which they came across, or which they found established in the country. Jethro was priest in Midian, but joined his son-in-law with his tribes, adhered to his religion, worshipped the golden calf in Sinai, acknowledged Jehovah with Joshua (xxiv, 24). They were on friendly terms with the Canaanites in the neighbourhood of Merom (Judges iv, 17) and of Deborah (Judges v, 24), they

worshipped Baal with Ahab and destroyed Baal with Jehu. In the interval between the last Jewish kings and the Romans, they adopted the religion of the land, and when Herod the Edomite became king of Jerusalem they were circumcised and remained faithful till the decline of the Hasmonaeans. They were Moslems with the Arab conquest, and followed the doctrines of the Fatimid Caliph Hakim. Most Crusading writers call them "Pagans," while the Moslems are called "Saracens." We know that they attacked Saladin when they were Christians, and attacked the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem after Saladin's success. In Egypt they fought St. Louis. They are now all nominally Moslems. When they are very near towns they observe the fast of Ramadan, pray and keep the feasts; but when they are further away they cannot say the prayers for want of water, they give no alms, having nothing themselves, they do not fast, because they are forced to fast the greater part of their lives, they do not visit mosques, seeing God is everywhere, to say nothing of pilgrimages to Mecca and so forth, which cost money, of which they have none to spare.

(*To be continued.*)

THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM, JULY 15, 1099.[1]

By Estelle Blyth.

"One thousand and one hundred years save one
Since Blessed Mary bore her glorious Son,
When rose upon July its fifteenth sun,
By Frankish might Jerusalem was won."

Inscription in the Crusading Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

It was in June, 1099, that the soldiers of the First Crusade pitched camp round about the city of Jerusalem, setting themselves to face the rigours of a siege that must end in its capture, or in their own utter overthrow. They had been three years upon the way; every

[1] From the *United Service Magazine*, Oct., 1917, with the kind permission of the publishers, Messrs. Clowes & Sons, Ltd.

inch of the road had been contested; more than half their number had fallen already, and of the original army of 10,000 knights and 80,000 foot, some 20,000 fighting men alone attained their goal. The Crusading fervour still burned vividly within them, despite the horrors, and the hardships, and the disappointments, that had marked each step of their arduous way. "When they heard the name of Jerusalem, they could not prevent themselves, in the fervour of their devotion, from shedding tears; they fell on their faces to the ground, glorifying and adoring God, Who, in His goodness, had heard the prayers of His people, and had granted them, according to their desires, to arrive at this most sacred place, the object of all their hopes." Brave, simple hearts were here, whose first thought was gratitude, whose first utterance was thanksgiving.

The Princes of the Crusade knew that no mean struggle lay before them. Jerusalem was surrounded by a single wall, but one of great massiveness, which had been strengthened, while ditches and outworks had been added wherever necessary; it was well defended by 45,000 fresh Egyptian troops, who made no secret of their scorn for these war-wearied Christian soldiers. On the south, east, and west, the city was protected by deep natural valleys; it was from the north that the main attack must be urged, for there the ground runs smoothly to the foot of the city walls. Godfrey de Bouillon pitched camp to the north-east of the city, upon a small plain which is still used by Turkish troops for manœuvres and drill. Next to him were the Flemish troops, under Count Robert of Flanders. Then came the Normans, under the luckless Robert of Normandy, who had pawned his dukedom to his cold-blooded brother, William Rufus, for a space of five years for ten thousand marks; and with them, the English contingent, a very small one, under Edgar Atheling, a son of the dispossessed Saxon Royal House. Tancred occupied ground north-west of the city (it is familiar to us now as the site of the Russian Buildings); and Raymond of Toulouse was further west, nearer to the present Jaffa Gate.

Tancred, "the Perfect Knight," conceived the simple idea of utilising their one siege-ladder to scale the walls, and carry the city by surprise. He led the gallant attempt himself, but the garrison was too much on the alert, and the plan failed. The Crusaders fell back on the slower method of siege-towers. These, however,

required wood, and the neighbourhood of Jerusalem gave only a light brushwood, harsh and hindering to the Crusaders' feet, and utterly useless for anything but making fires. The Crusaders dared not go far afield to get wood, being too small a force to risk lives by separating in small companies for any purpose whatever, even when food became more scarce. In addition to their own camp-followers (a horrid and motley crew), the Crusaders were exceedingly hampered by a large company of Christians who were expelled from the city by the garrison. The Saracens had debated as to whether they should slay all these non-combatants, partly to ensure themselves against treachery, and partly to save food; but in the end they decided that it would be far more hampering to the Crusaders to turn them loose outside the walls. These unfortunate exiles, homeless and destitute, were indeed a sore problem to Godfrey, whose resources were taxed already to the utmost; moreover, they inflamed the soldiers by harrowing, but inaccurate, reports of the dreadful things the Saracens had threatened to do to the holy places, especially to the Holy Sepulchre, if the siege were persisted in. It was altogether a time of severe suffering for the Crusaders. The heat was intense, and, encased in their heavy armour, which they dared not put aside, the foreign soldiers felt it to the utmost. Water was very scarce, for those wells and cisterns which were not dry naturally had been choked or poisoned by the Saracens; and the Pool of Siloam, which was their only waterhole, was brackish and flat, intermittent in flow, and yielding very little water at any time. Often the very animals refused to drink the water, it was so muddy and so stale. Fever and wounds reduced the fighting men, to whom, when sick, even the meagre alleviations of the day were denied. Those who were well bore the whole burden of the army's work; sometimes as they toiled, they would tear up clods of earth and thrust them against their bodies, if only they might feel a passing coolness. Many fainted at their work from weakness, or were struck down by the heat; some, losing all self-control actually flung themselves against the walls of the city, waiting for death; and from these wretched souls arose the piteous cry, "Oh, walls of Jerusalem, fall on us! Sacred dust of the city, at least cover our bones!"

A little fresh wind of comfort and hope revived them in the arrival of some Genoese ships at Jaffa, bringing food and timber. Godfrey sent three hundred men to bring up the valuable cargo,

and, after fighting their way to the coast, they found that a large Saracen fleet had seized the Genoese vessels, though, fortunately, after everything had been landed. With the seasoned timber thus provided, Godfrey built three strong siege towers, each of three storeys, the upper one of which had a light movable gangway which could be lowered on to the ramparts for entering the city. Genoese carpenters built the towers, and the Saracen prisoners were laboriously employed in dragging the heavy loads of timber as they were required, for there were neither wheeled vehicles for their conveyance, nor beasts of burden; from fifty to sixty prisoners were necessary to drag some of the heavier beams. It is on record that Raymond of Toulouse paid a few of the prisoners who were employed on the tower built for him. Hope burned afresh in the Crusaders' hearts; they worked incessantly, and were convinced that God was with them in everything they prepared for the overthrow of His enemies.

On the festival of the Visitation (12th July), the clergy organised a great procession, which wound slowly round the city walls three times, with crosses, relics, and banners all displayed. The common soldiers half believed that the walls would fall at the third round, after the manner of the walls of Jericho; but at the end, when they lifted their faces expectantly, they beheld only the stark walls upraised against the deep blue sky, while on the parapets the Saracens clustered in mocking groups, and hurled down biting jests, and arrows no less sharp. The Crusaders proceeded slowly up the Mount of Olives. From here they could see the city with all her dear familiar landmarks, spread out before their longing eyes—the city beloved of all ages, whose utter woe had called these men from very far to shed their blood for her liberation. Perhaps from this very spot, now pressed by their toilworn feet, Christ Himself had beheld the city and wept over her, as they, too, beholding, wept and vowed themselves anew to their great task. Into the softened hearts of these veteran warriors, the eager words of the preachers bit like fire. They were two—Arnold, chaplain to Duke Robert of Normandy (a great preacher, though an ill-liver), and Peter the Hermit, whose zeal had roused Europe to undertake the First Crusade. They absolved the army from its sins; they promised God's free pardon in return for the recovery of His City; they promised heaven to all who fell in this holy cause; they boldly summoned those Princes and chiefs who were at variance to lay

enmity aside, and to seal their reconciliation with a holy kiss. They grasped the hearts of their hearers, and swayed them as they would, in that wonderful hour.

Down in the city the Saracens also were at prayer. The courtyard of their Mosque was dark with the throng of them, and the sustained murmur of their intercessions arose audibly to the ears of the Crusaders on Olivet—even as to-day, in the hour of evening prayer in Ramadan, the sound rises very clearly to any one listening on the hillside.

The following day was spent in strenuous preparations by both sides. During the night Godfrey performed a real feat in taking down, removing, and rebuilding one of his great towers, as the Saracens had erected works opposite it which would have neutralized its value. He transferred it to a new station, over against a weak spot in the northern wall, where its sudden discovery by the besieged at daybreak excited their acute dismay.

Daybreak in Palestine does not come in slowly, as in colder lands; the dawn breaks with soft yet brilliant colour, as though blushing at her own beauty; then, suddenly and swiftly, the sun rushes upward, literally rejoicing as a giant to run his course, burning all the colour out of the sky, and drying up the little mists of dawn, till the heaven seems one clear expanse of blue wherein he reigns, unchallenged by any cloud or passing vapour. As the first light of dawn stole into the sky on that Thursday, 15th July, the Crusaders launched their great attack. The towers were rushed into position against the walls, while huge stones were hurled into the city by mangonels, and the sullen crash of the battering-rams against the solid walls could be heard over all the tumult. Furious as were the Crusaders' efforts, when night fell they were still without the walls; and weary, and not a little disheartened, the men were called back for rest and food. One tower was utterly destroyed, the other two were practically useless, many valuable lives had been lost, and the despairing cry of Robert of Normandy only expressed what each man felt in his heart: "Miserable sinners that we are! God judges us unfit to enter His Holy City, and to worship at the Sepulchre of His Son!"

Rest and food did much to put fresh heart into the Crusaders. At dawn they attacked again, and with better hopes, for was it not a Friday, and would He Who had suffered on a Friday now desert His followers, who had endured so much, and striven so hard to free

His Sepulchre from impious hands? When large breaches showed here and there in the walls, the Saracens, abandoning their belief in mere weapons, hurried out two workers of magic (it is not clear whether they were men or women), who went through their dark rites, and wove their evil spells, upon the walls, in sight of either host, until some well-planted stones from the mangonels destroyed them and their companions. So impious a challenge to Heaven could not go unpunished. Hardly had the workers of evil been destroyed than the good knight St. George appeared upon the Mount of Olives, and was seen of all as he stood there in his shining armour, waving on the Christians to the victory that awaited them. Valiant St. George! Not once or twice was he the saviour of Christian arms in Palestine. Godfrey's battered tower was somehow pushed against the wall, and as the drawbridge fell, Godfrey leapt out upon the parapet. He was the first of the Crusaders to set foot in Jerusalem, as, in 1083, he had been the first to scale the walls of Rome. And just at that supreme moment, like a little wind the word ran through the Crusading ranks—who knows how or whence it came?—"It is the third hour after noon, the ninth hour at which Christ died for us, here in Jerusalem itself! *He* wills our victory! One effort more, and His Will be done!"

That last great effort was made. The Saracens gave way; no human creatures could have done otherwise, for the Crusaders in that hour were literally possessed by the exaltation of the moment, and the sure promise of victory; they poured over the walls, shouting, thrusting, each man a champion, irresistible.

So Jerusalem was won.

If it had only ended there! The Crusaders, maddened by the sweet wine of victory, swept through the city, killing every Saracen they found.

Godfrey appears to have made no effort to stem this wholesale slaughter. Probably he realised the utter futility of protest while his men were in the grip of frenzy. He made his way to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and there fell upon his knees in thankfulness and praise. By-and-by, as the light failed, and weariness a little dulled their thirst for blood, the Crusaders followed him in growing numbers, and kneeling round the shrine they raised their bloodstained hands to heaven, and gave heartfelt thanks for this great victory, shedding tears of joy. The first night in

Jerusalem was passed in prayers and service in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

With daylight the horrid work of slaughter began afresh, and so it continued for a week. By that time the city was cleared of all its old inhabitants; the empty houses found new tenants; the churches were cleansed for worship. Jerusalem was now a city of the Christians, under new laws and conditions, and with new citizens.

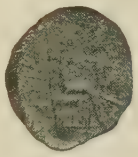
We can understand, but never condone, the ruthless policy of this. There was to be no hindrance to the growth of the new city, through the subtlety of a hostile element, or a hidden work of spies; the past was to be wiped out as completely as was possible, both for the sake of the conquerors, and of the liberated Christian population. The army of conquest was a very small one, with much hard work still ahead of it; and it were well that the terror of its name should strike deep into the hearts of the foe. A great deal of the horror that attended the taking of Jerusalem was due to the savage and ruthless temper of the times. We must remember also that the Crusaders had toiled and fought and suffered incessantly for three years in their effort to free Jerusalem; that they knew what the Christians in the Holy City had had to endure under Saracen rule; and that to the simple theology of the day a man was either a Christian or a pagan—either Christ's servant, or "hateful to Christ and His companye;" there were no subtle distinctions to be drawn, and the civilization of the age was not particularly sensitive as to the rights of men, certainly not of the vanquished. We need not gloss over the deeds of the Crusaders, but we owe them some latitude in judgment. They were not worse than their day, and such men as Godfrey, and Tancred, and Bohemond, were far ahead of it.

As long as the Christian Kingdom lasted, the 15th of July was kept with great solemnity at Jerusalem. A special Mass was sung in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, whereat solemn mention was made of those who had fallen when Jerusalem was taken, and whose place of burial was near the Golden Gate. Three special prayers commemorated the great day, one of which at least is beautiful enough to find a place in our remembrance to-day. "Grant, O Lord, that the sacrifice whereof we have partaken may give health both to our bodies and to our souls, that we who rejoice this day over the freedom of Thy city Jerusalem, may be made worthy to inherit the Jerusalem which is above."

A SUPPOSED HITTITE DEITY.

Going over a collection of coins and intaglios sent for inspection by Col. Postlethwait, late Governor of Samaria, to the Government Palestine Museum, I came across a curious object of blackish glass with a very interesting inscription.

A female figure is sitting on a throne, before her is seated a child; there are stars above both figures. On the back are inscribed the three letters—לחת.



The letters are undoubtedly of the Nerab script (*c.* 600 B.C.), and לחת can be interpreted "to Heth."

I discussed the figures with the Director of the Museum, Professor J. Garstang; he and I are of opinion that it represents a Hittite deity.

I am sending an impression, and will be glad to hear the opinion of scholars.

SAMUEL RAFFAELI,
Curator of Coins,
Palestine Museum,
Jerusalem.
13*th August*, 1922.

[Mr. Pilcher writes that the design, to his eye, has a strong suggestion of "the well-known tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, showing Zeus on a throne, holding a Victory in the outstretched hand, while the other hand is supported by a sceptre. If this be so, the seal is late and barbarous; and the carelessly executed inscription would be late Aramaic or Nabataean." Mr. Pilcher tentatively suggests that it may terminate in לה . . for "Allah." It should be mentioned that Mr. Raffaeli sends a black wax impression, and not a white plaster cast, and it is therefore impossible to commit oneself to a conjecture so confidently as those who have the original before them.—ED.]

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

The Life and Growth of Israel: a brief Old Testament History. By Prof. Samuel A. B. Mercer, Ph.D.D. Milwaukee, Wis., U.S.A.

This little book is a very concise and handy treatment of Israelite history, written in a style and with a sympathy that will make it attractive to many readers. It aims at describing the political and spiritual growth of the people, as will be understood when we note the titles of the chapters: The rock whence they were hewn; the infancy of Israel; the childhood of Israel; Israel's youth; Israel's coming of age; Israel's maturity; Israel's ripened maturity; and Israel's residuary gifts. The book carries us down into the Christian era, and thus enables the reader to realise how the Bible may be said to turn upon a few closely interconnected centuries of history which gave birth to the Old and New Testaments respectively. From the point of view of modern criticism, Prof. Mercer's book is exceedingly "moderate"; it does not enter upon the more serious and fundamental problems which perplex scholars, and, in view of its obvious aim and limits, we must praise the book for what it contains, and not regret its rather superficial handling of questions which, however, more advanced biblical students sooner or later have to face.

Hans Jakob Ammann genannt der Thalwyler Schärer und seine Reise ins Gelobte Land. 4th ed., by A. F. Ammann, Zurich, 1922.

This curious work, to which a brief reference was made in the last number (p. 88), was by one who, as his title describes, was "barber" (*i.e.*, surgeon and doctor) of Thalwil, on the shores of the lake of Zurich. The first edition appeared in 1618, and was *not* illustrated. The numerous quaint illustrations in the present reprint have been added by Mr. Ammann, who is a descendant of the author, in order to show the reader what the towns and buildings looked like in and about the early part of the seventeenth century. They are most of them taken from the little known books of early travellers, such as George Sandys. As the original German is in many cases no longer easy for most students of the language, the editor has added a glossary (pp. 24–30). He has also utilised a biographical sketch of the author, originally by the Rev. Waldburger, of Basle. In many respects this curious old record is worthy of being made known to a wider public, and Mr. Amman has spared no pains to enhance its value and interest.

Ancient Architecture in Syria. By H. C. Butler; *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Syria: the Ledjā.* By E. Littmann and David Magie, Jr. Leyden, 1921.

The present volume, one of the publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria (1904–5–9), consists, as will be seen from the title, of two distinct parts. The Ledjā lies N. and N.W. of the Jebel Ḥaurān, and, as the Classical Trachonitis, has much to offer that is both interesting and important. The architectural remains of the Roman period are many and of unusual interest; and of the Christian period there are churches and chapels, some well-preserved remains of which are still used by the Druses as places for the entertainment of guests. Numerous inscriptions have long been known in the Ledjā, and the fine and now complete collection published or re-edited by Littmann and Magie contains much that is of value. Special attention may be drawn to the god Lycurgus (No. 789), and to the Hellenised Baals, and to the god of Aum (No. 792). Considerable light is thrown by the inscriptions upon the organization of the district under the Romans, and upon the strange blends of foreign and native blood. Nor is a touch of sentiment wanting when, in No. 800, a lady Gadrat writes: "(There is) one God, the helper for Tobias for the building, when he built at his own (expense); and He who helped for the building, will also help for the marriage." We may assume, with the editors of the inscription, that Tobias' expectation was fulfilled.

The Temple of Ezekiel's Prophecy. By Henry Sulley. London, Simpkin, Marshall, &c., 1921.

The prophecies of Ezekiel have long been the lode-star of some investigators and the despair of others. From the days of the early Rabbis the contradictions with the Mosaic Law attracted attention, and it was left for one Hananiah, at the expenditure of 300 measures of oil, to explain and to explain away the difficulties. Jerome reported that the beginning and end of Ezekiel must not be read by anyone under thirty. The opening chapter, with the picture of the chariot of Jehovah's glory, formed the basis of the Kabbalah of Mediaeval Rabbinism, and the concluding chapters still continue to perplex even the most "critical" of all critics! How far have we merely a programme, a mystery, or a symbolical representation of a priestly dream? It was an age of apocalyptical and eschatological tendencies, and Ezekiel's sketch must have conveyed

something to those who knew him. Can we recover the secret? Mr. Henry Sulley thinks he can; and in this elaborate volume the author of "Is it Armageddon?" discloses it to his readers. The fact that the book is now in a third and revised edition should be proof that his readers are neither few nor unappreciative; and certainly few "critical" works are able to point to the literary success that his has had. It is difficult, however, for this writer to review the book, much as he is ready to agree that Mr. Sulley is dealing with problems that require *some* solution. It is not very easy to grasp the whole argument, but one may willingly recognise the very fervent spirit in which the author has approached his task. And whatever we may think of this particular solution, it is at least of more than psychological significance that interest in past apocalyptical and eschatological literature has rarely been so keen as at this present age.

Orte und Wege Jesu. By Prof. Cristaf Dalman. Gütersloh, 1921.

The Director of the German Evangelical Institute in Jerusalem here publishes the second and considerably enlarged edition of a piece of work which his long and deep knowledge of Palestine enables him to treat with learning and accuracy. Dr. Dalman's many labours on behalf of the Institute and his journeys in and about the Holy Land have borne good fruit, and in this, the latest of his publications, he presents a highly interesting survey, topographical, historical, and archaeological. The title sufficiently indicates the scope of the work—the places which Jesus visited and the roads he took; and the value of the book has been considerably enhanced by 40 plans and photographs. The book will serve as a readable and stimulating introduction to a study of early Palestine.

Palästina-jahrbuch, No. xvii. By Prof. Dalman. Berlin, 1922.

This, the 17th issue of the Annual, contains articles by C. Weidenkaff (Ain Jalud and the Well of Harod), W. Sütterlin (Tekoa), F. Lundgreen (the Palestian Army in N.T. Times), D. Duhm (the Jerusalem Vegetable Market), and by Prof. Dalman himself (the Fruit Market, Aug., 1921; Manna in the Jerusalem Market). The last-mentioned also describes journeys to the Hebron and in the Judaean Mt. Seir. The Annual is a useful and very varied contribution to our knowledge of Palestine, and the contents are quite up to the high level we have always been accustomed to expect.

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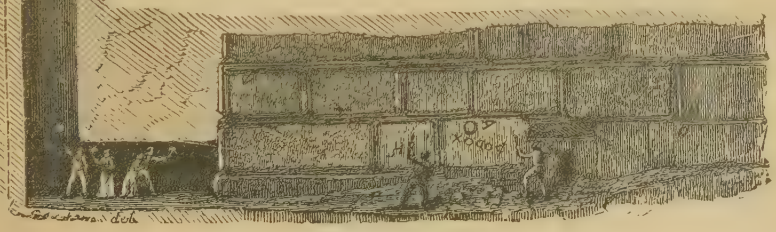

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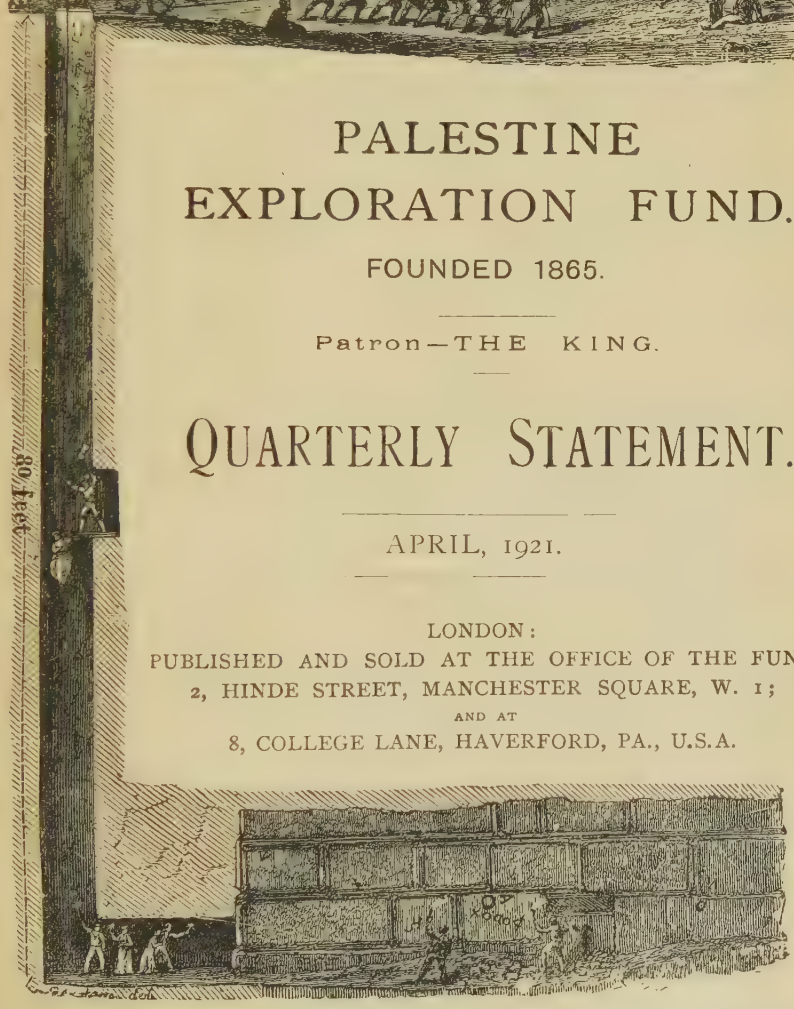

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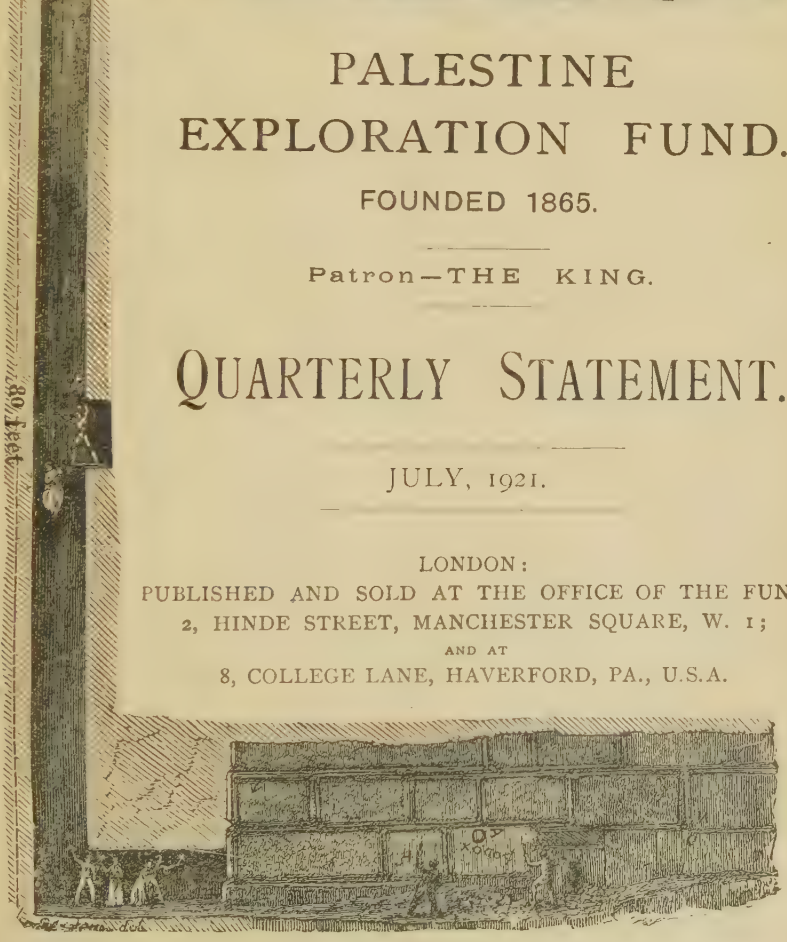

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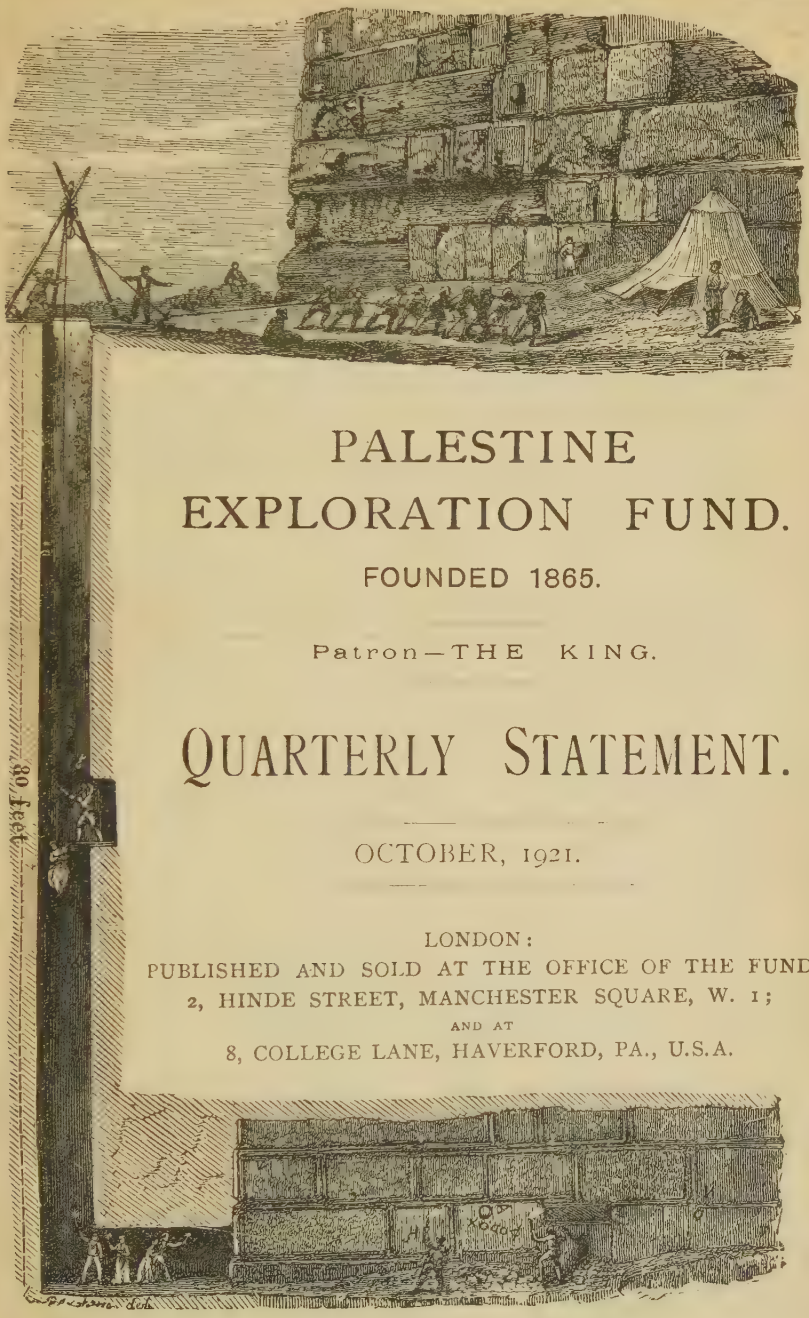

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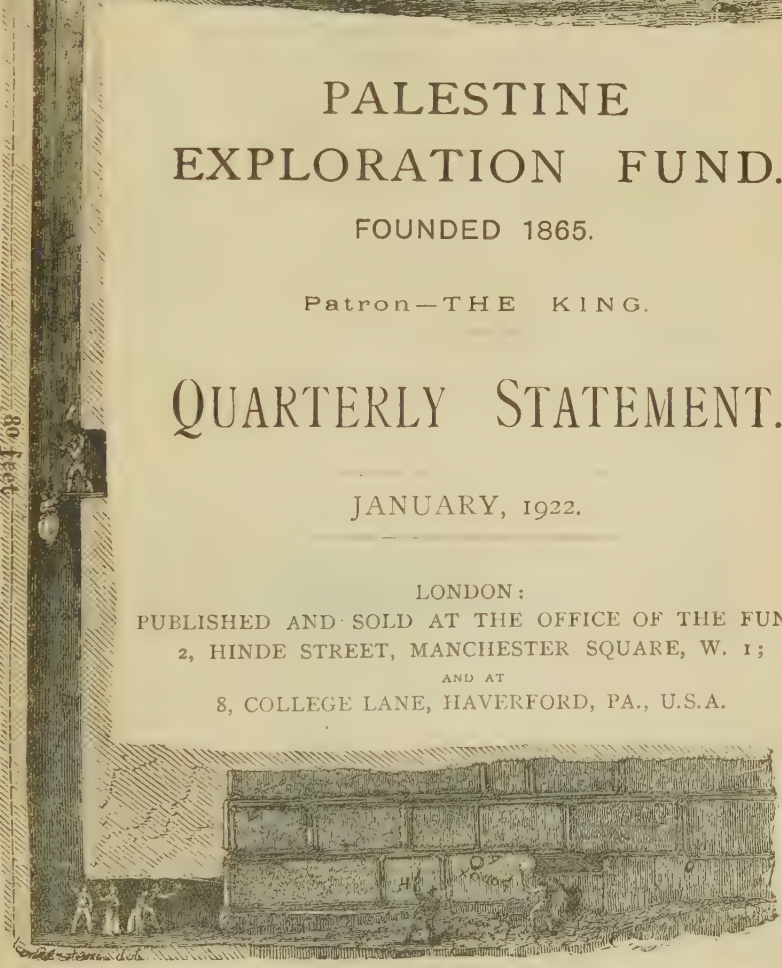

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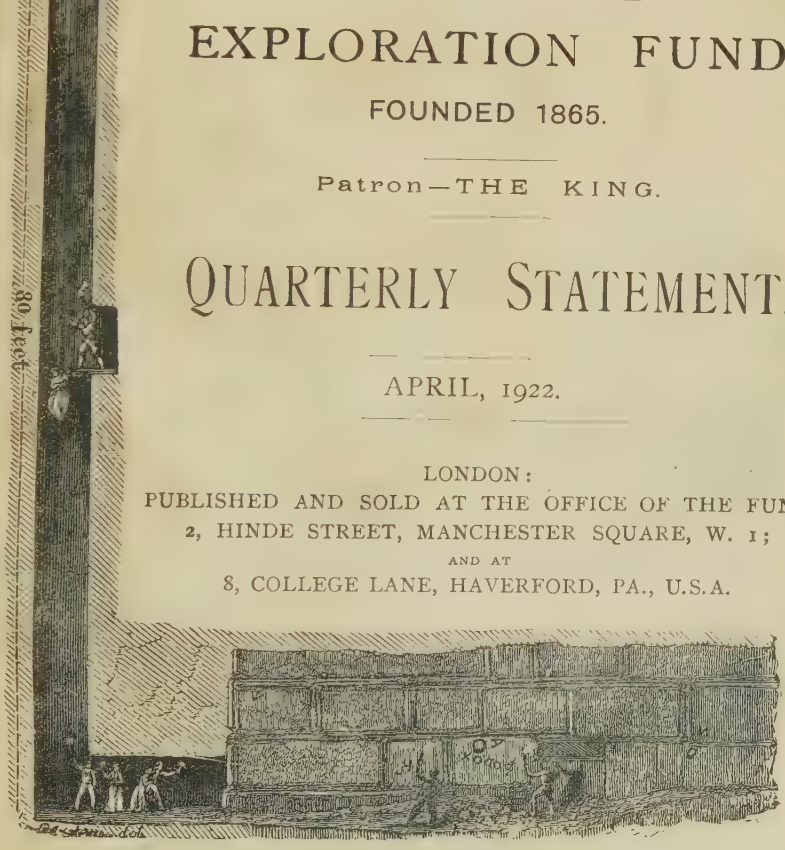

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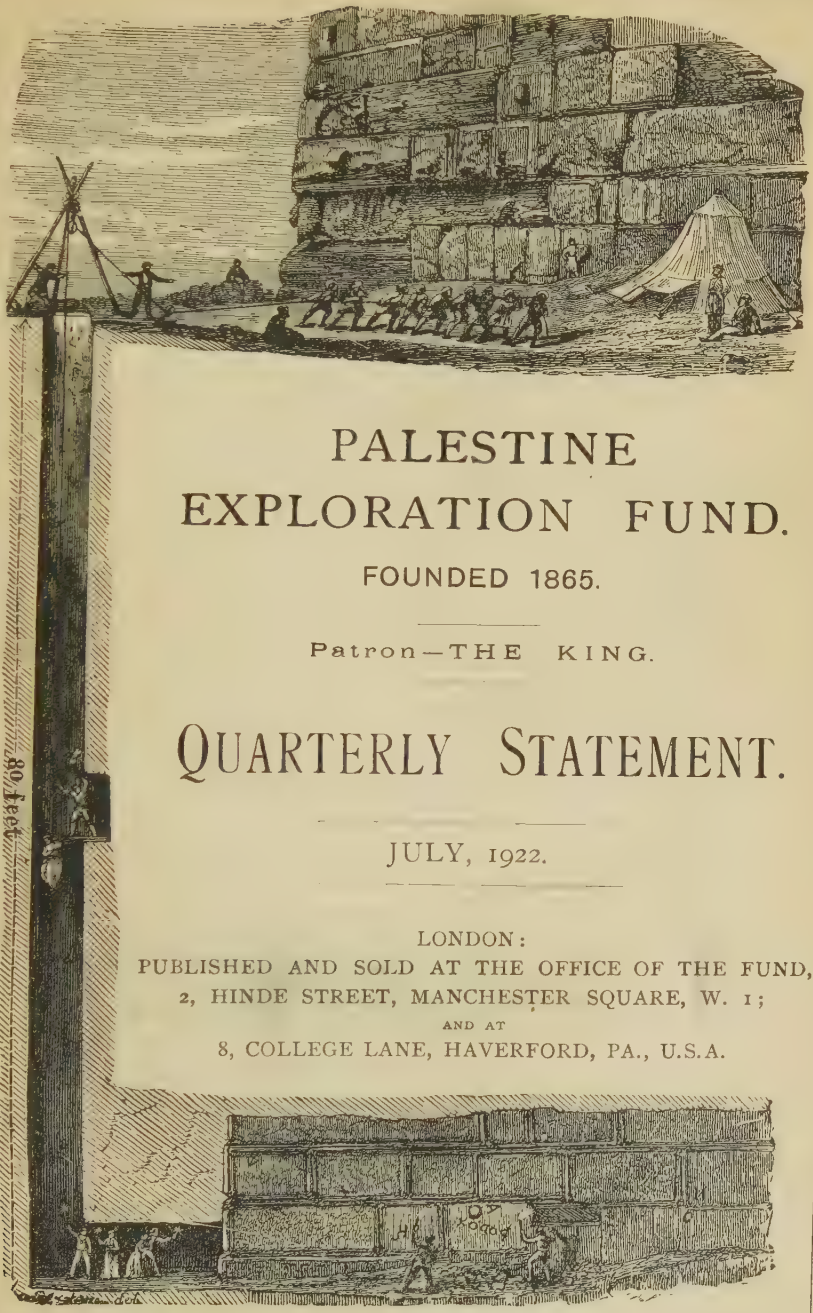

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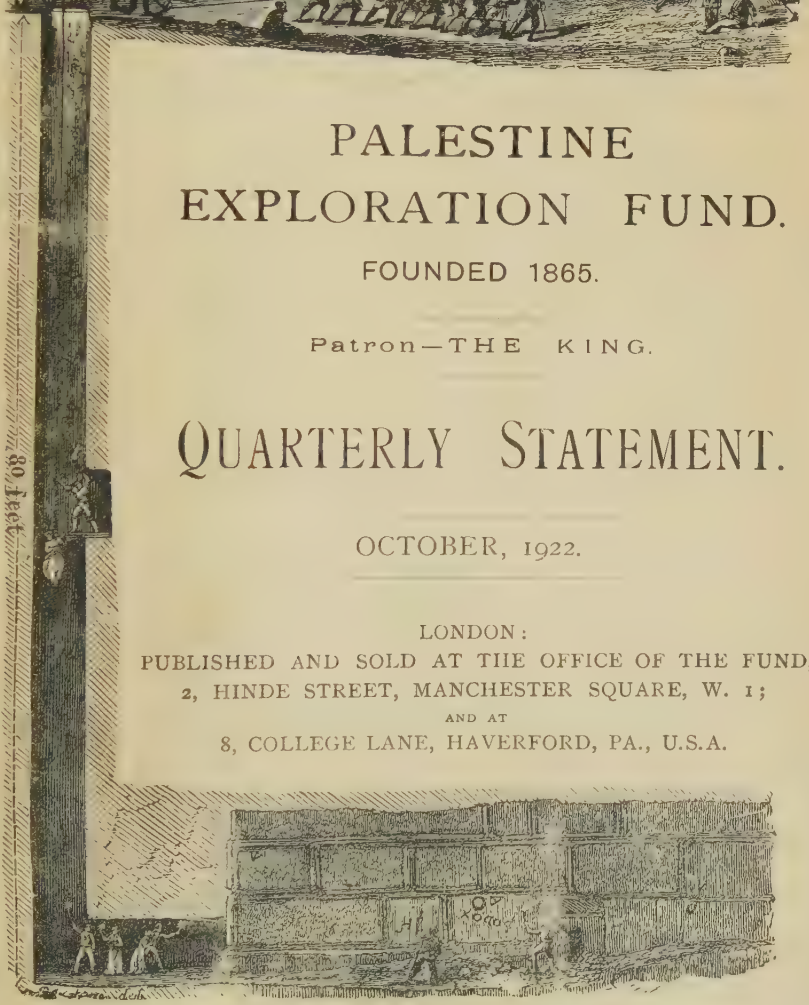

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